THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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EDITORIAL

THE ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN CHARGED WITH ASSUMING A negative attitude toward culture. If by this is meant that the Anabaptists were critical of the medieval social order and its cultural expressions, this charge is true. Without doubt the Anabaptist movement subjected contemporary society to very thoroughgoing and devastating criticism. It rejected very much of what it found and it set forth to regenerate the world with a brave idealism born of an absolute commitment to the teachings and ideals of Jesus. That in so doing it denied the validity of the fundamental cultural values is not true. The movement was of course primarily concerned with spiritual and ethical values rather than what might be called the "secular values." Due to persecution, the attending withdrawal from society and isolation for centuries from the stream of life from the surrounding world, the descendants of the Anabaptists, particularly in Switzerland, South Germany and Eastern Prussia, did not participate greatly in the cultural life of the time, and assumed to some extent a negative attitude toward certain aspects of culture. In the Netherlands on the contrary Mennonites very early entered aggressively into contemporary cultural life. Everywhere, however, Anabaptists and Mennonites have made substantial and valuable contributions to the economic culture of their native lands.

The very interesting question of the relation of Mennonites to culture was made one of the major themes of discussion at the Mennonite World Conference in Holland in 1936. Pastor Frits Kuiper of Alkmaar, Holland, and Professor C. Henry Smith of Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio, presented papers on this theme. We are glad to be able to publish Dr. Smith's paper in this issue. It is a broadly conceived and very enlightening survey, presenting the positive contribution of Mennonites to culture throughout the four centuries of their history. In this connection we take pleasure in announcing that Professor Smith has consented to join the editorial board of the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW. We look forward to further contributions from his able pen as one of the leading Mennonite historians of our time. Professor Smith is the well known author of *Mennonites of America* (1909), *Mennonites—A Brief History* (1920), *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (1927), and *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (1931). He is Professor of History at Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio. We are also happy to announce that Professor Abraham Warkentin, Professor of German and Bible at Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, director of the Mennonite Historical Library at that institution, has consented to join the editorial board. Dr. Warkentin has been active in assembling a valuable collection of Mennonite historical material, with special emphasis on the history of the Russian Mennonites who settled in the prairie states and provinces after 1870.

THE REVIEW IS GLAD TO PUBLISH SOME MATERIAL ON MENNONITE FAMILY HISTORY IN the article by John C. Wenger entitled, "Brief Notes on the Bernese Wengers." Mr. Wenger, who is at present studying in the theological faculty at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, has gathered interesting material on the early Wengers in the canton of Berne. Among these Bernese Wengers no doubt all the ancestors of the Mennonite Wengers of America must be sought. While there may not be much direct contribution to Mennonite history from such studies, nevertheless Mennonite family history writing has frequently suffered from an inadequate study of the European background of the immigrant families. In the last analysis nothing bearing on the background of American Mennonite families is without value for Mennonite history.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO THE REVIEW PUBLISHED A NUMBER OF ARTICLES BY PROFESSOR JOHN Umble of Goshen College on early Mennonite Sunday Schools in Ohio, which were very much appreciated, not only for their local history value but also for their contribution to an understanding of the life and development of American Mennonite communities two generations ago. Professor Umble now brings us an interesting study of the beginnings of Sunday School literature in the Mennonite Church. His article makes clear the important contribution which John F. Funk, the leader in publication work in the Mennonite Church, made in this field. It also reveals some of the difficulties and handicaps with which progressive leaders sixty years ago had to struggle as they led the Church forward into better things.

THE CONCLUDING INSTALLMENT OF PROFESSOR BENDER'S EXHAUSTIVE EXPOSITION OF Conrad Grebel's theology treats of the ideological sources of this Anabaptist leader's teachings and concludes with a concise summary of the leading ideas. Professor Bender's contention is that while Conrad Grebel received much from Ulrich Zwingli, the essential contributions which he made to Christian theology, and which led to the founding of the Anabaptist movement, were after all derived primarily from immediate study of the New Testament Scriptures.

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MENNONITES AND CULTURE*

C. HENRY SMITH

Every social movement, be it political, economic, or religious, tends in the course of its progress to develop a conservative as well as a liberal wing. The French Revolution had its "emigres" and its "sans culottes"; socialism, its opportunists and its communists; every political party has its right and left wing. The great religious upheaval during the Reformation period was no exception to this general rule. Were one to use the terminology of the European political parties, one might well call the Catholics the right wing of that day; the Lutherans, perhaps, the Center; the Reformed, the Left Center; and the Anabaptists or Mennonites, the liberal Left.

It is sometimes said that in the course of human progress the liberal of today becomes the conservative of tomorrow, so rapidly do we move on. The Mennonites practised certain doctrines of religious toleration and civil liberty that were far ahead of their times. They might well be called pioneers in the long and bloody struggle for religious freedom.

Among these liberal doctrines which the Mennonites were the first to practise four hundred years ago was the doctrine of religious toleration, and complete separation of church and state—a principle as much feared by the established order of that day as is Bolshevism today. For centuries men were still to be born into two

* An address given at the Mennonite World Conference at Amsterdam (Elspeet), Netherlands, July 1, 1936.

equally authoritative, all powerful jurisdictions, one spiritual, the other earthly—the church and the state. There was no freedom of choice. Disloyalty to the church was heresy, disloyalty to the state was treason—both punishable by death.

Mennonites on the other hand, maintained that membership in the church should be voluntary composed only of those of a regenerate heart, baptized upon confession of faith; man had direct access to God without the need of either an ecclesiastical or university doctor as a mediator. For this belief hundreds of pious souls were burned at the stake, or driven from their homes. Luther and Calvin in spite of all their fine service in the cause of religious progress, contributed nothing to the cause of freedom of conscience. That was the special gift of the Mennonites to the World.

This doctrine of the separation of church and state led the Mennonites to a rather naïve, though logical interpretation of the relation of the two in actual practice. Mennonites were not anarchists as is sometimes claimed by those who do not know them. They believed in the need of a worldly government; that it was of divine origin; that the Scriptures commanded them to render unto Caesar that which is Caesars, and to God that which is Gods. The worldly government, however, was not necessary for the Christian, only for the worldling. Its purpose was to protect the good and punish the evil. There were two kingdoms: the kingdom of this world and the kingdom of God. In the kingdom of this world force is necessary, but not in the kingdom of God, where love alone rules. The Christian, therefore, can have little to do with the kingdom of this world except to obey its laws where they do not conflict with his loyalty to God.

According to this early Mennonite view no Christian could hold the office of magistrate. This may seem a rather peculiar and naïve interpretation to some in these days of religious toleration and political democracy, but perfectly logical and inevitable in that day of intolerance when church and state were still one. When the magistrate was still called upon to enforce religious uniformity and burn men and women at the stake because of their religious beliefs, then naturally no Christian who believed in the sacredness of conscience could fill that post. But the Scriptures demand obedience to the temporal government. And so, to the sincere Mennonite who wished to retain his citizenship in both kingdoms, his interpretation of

the relation of the kingdom of God to that of the temporal rulers was the only logical one. The strong sense of other worldliness so characteristic of the early Mennonites, strengthened by the terrible persecutions which they suffered, added strength to this feeling.

With the passing of religious intolerance in course of time, and after church and state were separated, this conviction adapted itself to changing conditions, except in certain sections of America, where some of the more conservative groups still hold that the children of God must have nothing to do with the political affairs with which the children of this world concern themselves.

That the Mennonites were pioneers, however, in the struggle for religious freedom can not be denied. The struggle was a long and bitter one. It was not until after the French Revolution that the European world began to look with favor upon granting the individual the right to follow his conscience and serve God accordingly.

We in America have always been inclined to boast of our country as the land of religious freedom; and yet our New England Puritans were as intolerant of other religious beliefs as England was of theirs. Even at the time of the Revolutionary War all our colonies along the Atlantic sea coast, with the exception of Rhode Island founded by a Baptist, and Pennsylvania settled by the Quakers, were under the control of state churches which enjoyed unusual political and civil privileges, and which were extremely reluctant to grant tolerance to those not of their faith.

Even in our own day there are many countries in which former state churches still enjoy many of their earlier privileges. Saying nothing of Germany, Italy and Austria, and many others, in England the Bishops and Archbishops of the Anglican church still retain their ancient prerogative of membership in the House of Lords; while the entire Parliament just recently revised the prayer book for the church. The king himself must still be a member of the favored institution. All official religious ceremonies are still the prerogative of the Anglican organization. That such a collaboration of church and state is not conducive to the development of a religion pure and undefiled became clear to me during the past summer, when during a course of lectures given by the Archbishop of York at Indianapolis, I heard a group of students, in the forum period, put a series of perplexing questions to the Archbishop; such

questions as only inquisitive students can ask—the relation of the church to the state, church and war, church and politics. The Archbishop, really a servant of the state as well as of the church, hesitated to commit himself on questions of this nature. Of course the State church could not oppose war. To a Mennonite such a church whose religious faith is still subservient to the dictates of an arbitrary state in the freedom of her action, is still a long way off from being the true church of God.

In those good old days, now seemingly so far removed, when life seemed so certain, when democracy and religious freedom seemed assured forever; in those happy days before the war, we thought that the struggle for religious freedom for which the Mennonites had pioneered so bravely and often died was no longer a debatable question in any section of the civilized world. The world had caught up with the Mennonites, and freedom of conscience was no longer the distinctive teaching of this group; so we thought.

Today we are not so certain of this as once we were. With the firm determination of communistic Russia to completely root out all traces of religion; with the inauguration of the totalitarian state in Germany and Italy and other lands, which would place loyalty to the state far beyond loyalty to church and religious conviction, we have been set back a full century in the painful upward march of soul freedom. Even in the United States, that boasted land of freedom, the highest court in the land recently handed down a judicial decision, stating that whenever conscience conflicted with the will of the state, conscience must give way to the demands of the state, a doctrine which if held in 1620 would have landed all our Pilgrim Fathers in jail.

And so it is entirely possible that the struggle for religious freedom which we thought had been won forever must again be renewed. But one thing is certain; so long as men live there will be fixed determination that conscience must be free.

Even though the small group of Mennonites as such did not play a prominent role directly in the development of religious liberty, yet they were pioneers in this struggle, and indirectly they exerted no mean influence upon larger movements which in America at least came to play a large role in the struggle for religious and civil freedom. The Baptists, a large influential denomination, which in America numbers nearly ten million members, trace their origin back

to the continental Anabaptists, and directly to the Mennonite church at Amsterdam. All Baptist historians claim Menno Simons as one of their founders. A small group of English refugees, who had sought refuge in Amsterdam for a time but had again returned to England in the early part of the seventeenth century, had petitioned the Amsterdam Mennonites for admission to their fellowship, but had been refused. They later organized their own church, adopting all the fundamental principles of the Dutch Mennonites except the doctrine of nonresistance, and rejection of the oath. And so, the Anabaptist movement split into two branches, the continental which remained Mennonite, and the English, which developed into the great modern Baptist denomination.

In the same southeastern corner of England from which the Baptists came, there arose also several other separatist religious movements of later significance, owing their origin to the Anabaptist leaven which was brought to that section of England throughout the last half of the sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth centuries by Dutch Anabaptist and Mennonite refugees. It was near here, too, that our own Pilgrim Fathers lived who brought these separatist ideas to America, though they did not gain a strong foothold here at the time, since the Pilgrims at Plymouth were later swallowed up by the more intolerant Puritans some miles to the north. Here also lived George Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement with religious doctrines and practises so like those of the earlier Mennonites that one cannot escape the conclusion that he, too, owed something to the separatist leaven that had been at work for some years in that particular region of England. Robert Barclay, a leading Quaker historian, speaking of this similarity between the Mennonites and Quakers makes this observation—

> "So closely do these views correspond with those of George Fox, that we are compelled to view him as an unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practise and discipline of the ancient and strict party of the Dutch Mennonites, at a period when under pressure of the times, some deviation took place among the General Baptists from their original principles."

From near here also came Robert Browne and other founders of what is known today in England and America as the Congregational church. There can be little doubt that the democratic form of

church government, the doctrine of religious toleration, as well as many of the other separatist principles of this group owed much to the same Anabaptist leaven of Dutch origin. Congregational historians, too, acknowledge this debt.

And so, indirectly through the Baptists, the Quakers, and the Congregationalists as well as through our own Pilgrim Fathers, the Anabaptists of southeastern England, as well as in their native land, have made large contributions to the cause of religious and civil liberty in both England and America.

Closely connected with their refusal to use might in the enforcement of religious uniformity, the Mennonites also opposed it as a means of settling misunderstandings and differences between individuals or nations. The principle of non-resistance as applied to both individuals and nations was based on solid New Testament ground. "Resist not Evil" was a divine command that knew no exceptions. The early history of the Christian church during the years before church and state became one under Constantine, supported this practise. The early Christians refused to go to war. It was based on good psychology, too, so they thought. There is no social law more certain than the law "Like Begets Like." Hatred breeds hatred, and only good will and love will destroy ill-will. Good will alone can solve such quarrels and hatreds as result from human passion—whether between individuals or between nations.

The early Mennonites were unequivocably opposed to war, and made belief in this doctrine as much a fundamental part of their faith as any other doctrine of the church; and as necessary to salvation. For fully three centuries they refused to go to war, even though they at times accepted substitute service that logically could not be squared with their declaration of faith. The Mennonites of Holland during the latter part of the sixteenth century bought religious toleration from William of Orange by contributing a substantial sum to the Stadthalter's war chest at the time he sorely needed money to carry on his campaigns against his Spanish king. It was perhaps hardly consistent for the Mennonites along the Vistula to pay the Prussian kings five thousand German thalers per year for the support of the military school at Culm, in lieu of military service. Coming nearer home, it is doubtful whether the American Mennonites were justified during the Civil War in buying substitutes to serve in their stead at the price of three hundred dollars

per head. The Quakers in their earlier history at least who refused all participation in war, both in actual service, in furnishing money, or in making possible the securing of substitutes were far more consistent to say the least than were the Mennonites.

Strange as it may seem, refusal to serve in the armies was not a prime cause of persecution of the Mennonites in their early history, with the exception perhaps of Switzerland, where the sale of mercenary soldiers to the highest bidder, was one of the chief sources of revenue to the ruling lords of the Swiss cantons. In fact it was this use by the Pope of Swiss soldiers that first aroused the opposition of Zwingli to the whole Papal system. But everywhere else Mennonites had little difficulty in gaining exemption from military service. Religious toleration, too, was often granted them in return for certain desired services by sagacious land-lords and far-sighted rulers who were willing to waive religious orthodoxy for economic gain.

Military service in those days was not particularly burdensome. Armies were small, and made up, for the most part of volunteers. Soldiers did not fight for the Fatherland, but for money or plunder, or for the mere love of adventure. Compulsory service among the masses was very rare before the French Revolution. And so it was not difficult for those having conscientious scruples against war to escape participation, especially if they could offer alternative service of economic value. Kings and land-lords with large stretches of uninhabited land were glad to offer industrious Mennonites wide political and religious liberties as an inducement to reclaim, and locate on, these waste areas. The kings of Poland were glad to offer the industrious Mennonites of Holland, well versed in the building of dikes and canals, most liberal terms, including religious toleration and military exemption, if they would reclaim the swamp lands along the lower Vistula. And when two hundred years later Frederick the Great forgot the promises of his forefathers, many of the Mennonites in this region accepted terms equally liberal offered by Catherine the Great in south Russia. And then when another century later the Czars of Russia, too, forgot their earlier guarantees, about one third of the Russian Mennonites migrated to America where in Canada at least, eager land companies, and a liberal government anxious to settle the western prairies, offered the refugees all the privileges denied them in their former homes.

It was perhaps the most conservative of the immigrants, those most scrupulous on the war question who settled on the western lands of the young and progressive Canadian government where at the time there seemed little possibility of war for a thousand years. Some settled in Kansas, and other western states, where guarantees were not quite so liberal, but war here, too, seemed far off; and universal military service was not required.

Today non-resistance as a doctrine and practise is a dead letter among most of the European Mennonites. The Dutch Mennonites, after the French Revolution, were the first to depart from the old traditions. Just why, it is not for me to say. By the middle of the past century they were followed by most of the German Mennonites. Although the Cabinet Order of 1868 provided substitute service, few took advantage of the alternative. During the World War only the Russian Mennonites still kept up a semblance of the old traditions inasmuch as practically all the young men called into service, some ten or twelve thousand of them, continued their forestry work, or organized self-supporting hospital and sanitary units, though under military control. The French and Swiss Mennonites, too, have given up the old faith.

It remains for the American Mennonites to carry on. In America today practically all Mennonites of whatever branch, are unconditionally opposed to war-participation, and so far as this point is concerned, are a selected group. Selected on the basis of a tender conscience on military service. It was just for this reason that most of them migrated to America. It was the most peace-minded third of the Russian Mennonites who left their native land in the seventies of the past century for the western prairies; and the earlier immigrants, too, as well as those who who emigrated to the middle west in the first half of the nineteenth, were forced to migrate, if they wished to remain true to their nonresistant doctrines, because of their experiences in war-ridden zones just devastated by the ravages of war, or by the fears of wars to come. Non-resistance thus remained a fundamental part of the faith of the American Mennonites.

The American governments, too, both the Canadian and that of the United States have always shown a high regard for the tender consciences of Mennonites on this question. In every war special provision was made for those opposed to military service. Among

the two thousand young men drafted into the army of the United States in the recent war, very few took active service. About half of them accepted the provisions of the Act of 1917, offering them work in the non-combatant departments; the other half, the more logical half, the more conscientious half, the absolutists, who refused all participation of any sort in the army became known as "Conscientious Objectors." These last refused even hospital service if it was an integral part of the army machine, as it of course always was. It was just as much a violation of the non-resistant principle, they said to cook for soldiers, and to truck them to the front line trenches as to take up arms. Logically there was no difference. These thus took the hard road; the others the easy way. Several hundred of the most scrupulous of these were sentenced to prison terms of from ten to twenty years; but soon after the war hysteria blew over all were again released.

The Canadian government was even more lenient toward the Mennonites than was the government of the United States. She kept to the letter all the promises made the Russian immigrants in 1873. The Canadian Mennonites were not asked even to perform non-combatant service in the Conscription Act of the Dominion. The older settlements in Ontario were also included in these liberal terms granted the Russians.

How about the future?

Among the Dutch Mennonites there is a small devoted group earnestly endeavoring to revive the old faith. As an American I can only greet this effort with the greatest of interest and wish it, under Divine guidance, continued future growth.

In America, too, it will undoubtedly become increasingly difficult to uphold the non-resistant doctrine. In the first place a democracy, contradictory though it may seem, is often less considerate of the conscientious scruples of a minority than an autocracy. In the last war those opposing military service on the grounds of conscience suffered more at the hands of their neighbors than from the Government. It is significant that in the recent emigration of certain Mennonites from Canada they could find favorable terms only in such backward lands as Mexico or Paraguay, lands still more or less under control of autocratic governments not responsive to popular will, and lands with large areas of uninhabited and unwholesome wastes, where settling in compact groups in regions not

otherwise in demand they might still find for a time at least special privileges above those enjoyed by the natives, in return for other profitable and desired service. In these backward countries the Old Colony Canadian Mennonites were promised not only exemption from military service, but also complete control of their schools, and the free use of their ancient mother tongue—German.

In the second place military drill compulsory in our state institutions, and optional in many of our colleges, tends to undermine the peace doctrines of such of our Mennonite students as attend these institutions. Precisely this no doubt was one of the main contributory factors in the loss of non-resistance among the European Mennonites. Military drill in times of peace leaves no logical ground for rejection of active military service in times of war.

Then, too, must be mentioned the dangerous, militant millenarianism taught in certain short-cut so-called prophetic Bible schools which teach not only the inevitability, but the desirability, of war as an agent in ushering in the Kingdom. Such ministers as attend these schools and there are too many of them, usually come back to their churches with their faith in the doctrine of non-resistance, as well as in some other fundamental and historical Mennonite doctrines, greatly weakened if not entirely lost. The sure antidote for non-resistance in the Mennonite church is to send her preachers to these militant Bible schools. And for this reason the founding of a Mennonite Seminary where fundamental Mennonite principles are taught and practised is an absolute pre-requisite to the preservation of the faith of the fathers.

And so, the Mennonites have always been pioneers in the long struggle for a warless world. This movement has assumed large proportions in America in recent years. Today there are perhaps a million people in America, followers of religious organizations that have made non-resistance and complete non-participation in war a basic principle of their faith. In addition, the Federal Council of Churches, which includes nearly all the Protestant denominations of the country, in a recent resolution has branded war as the world's greatest collective sin. Eighteen of the largest Protestant denominations in the western world in their general conferences and assemblies have specifically condemned war, and vowed never to bless another one. Some have even gone so far as to take the Mennonite point of view, promising never to take part in any way in future conflict.

Fifty-five nations have signed the Paris Peace Pact, which outlaws war and declares it an international crime. The great economists, regardless of race or nationality, regard war today as the world's greatest international folly. No reputable statesman of either Europe or America today wants war with the possible exception of Mussolini, who regards war as the greatest of all promoters of human progress; and who if he found no plausible excuse for a war would invent one.

And so it seems to an American Mennonite, that if war is the world's greatest collective sin as the churches say, and the world's greatest economic folly as the economists declare, and an international crime as proclaimed by almost the unanimous vote of all the nations of the world, then the only logical attitude to take toward war is one of absolute non-participation; and non-resistance is still the best solvent for the eradication of this the world's greatest curse.

Mennonites throughout the world have always been noted for their industry, frugality, honesty, and their insistence upon the simple life. Driven out of the cities and centers of population by persecution, they were found principally in the open country and in mountain retreats, except in Holland and northwestern Germany where they eventually located in the larger population centers. So they remained farmers, among the best farmers in the world. When during the seventeenth century the less industrious natives charged the Mennonite farmers in the Vistula delta with threatening the livelihood of their more backward competitors, the Marienburg delegate to the Prussian Landtag, speaking in behalf of the large landlords of the region, said, "One can easily tell whether the land is cultivated by a lazy, drunken farmer, or a sober, industrious Mennonite."

As we have already seen, Mennonites were invited to south Russia to serve as model farmers to the native Russian tillers of the soil. Under the leadership of such men as Johann Cornies they transformed the barren steppes along the Black Sea into a veritable gardens of plenty. They developed an agricultural economy that was the pride of the Russian government, and were often visited by members of the nobility and even the royal family. Ernst Correll tells us in his interesting history of the Mennonites that in the Palatinate Mennonites were the first to introduce what we know today as scientific farming. In America, too, Mennonites are known as among the most successful farmers in the land. Lancaster Coun-

ty, Pennsylvania, with a Mennonite population of some twenty-five thousand, divided into nearly one hundred separate church congregations, several years ago was selected by the United States Department of Agriculture as the most prosperous agricultural county in the whole country. Undoubtedly Mennonites are among the world's best farmers.

On the other hand, one finds that in Holland and northwestern Germany Mennonites live in the cities for the most part. For that reason they have been able here to exert a larger influence upon the general cultural and political life of their times than have their agricultural brethren in other lands. But here, too, they have shown the same spirit of integrity and industry that has been so characteristic of Mennonites everywhere.

A few examples must suffice.

The silk industry of Crefeld, which at one time was the silk center of northern Europe was founded by a Mennonite family, and Mennonites have played an important role ever since not only in the development of this industry but in the industrial and cultural growth of the city. The same may be said of the van Delden family in Gronau which still heads one of the largest textile mills in all Germany. The Hamburg Mennonites of several centuries ago were well known as leaders in the whale fishing industry. The Mennonites of Amsterdam have furnished their city some of its greatest financiers and business men. As early as the close of the seventeenth century Jacob Telner had made repeated business voyages to New York, and by so doing laid the foundations for the first German and Mennonite settlement in America.

In financial and banking circles, as government officials, as well as in learned societies, the Mennonites of Holland are represented far above what their numbers in comparison to the general population would justify. In the cultural and industrial life of Holland the Mennonites occupy a position similar to that of the Quakers in England.

In the past, Mennonites took more to the science of practical living than to the cultivation of the fine arts. But even in the arts they are entitled to some of the great names of history, among others to Vondel, the great Dutch poet of the seventeenth century, and Sudermann, the German dramatist of the nineteenth; Rembrandt, the painter, and Spinoza, the renowned Jewish philosopher, although closely associated with the Mennonites in Amsterdam, can not be claimed by them.

In America the Mennonites have not exerted the same direct influence upon the cultural life of their times as have their brethren in northern Europe. Here they lived for the most part in the open country, with no inclination to higher learning, and often with a decided prejudice against everything that seemed of this world, worldly. Occasionally some young man with a little more ambition than his fellows would leave his home surroundings, attend some institution of learning, and usually made good. But he never returned to the church that nurtured him.

Among a large number of men and women only one or two generations removed from the original Mennonite stock, and who have risen to positions of influence in civil and business life of the times as well as of eminence in the cultural pursuits of the day may be mentioned a winner of the Nobel prize in the field of science, several governors, several United States Senators, numerous Congressmen, and Jurists, a few millionaires, the best known of whom perhaps is the manufacturer of a popular brand of chocolates who not many years ago set aside a fund of sixty million dollars for the founding of a boy's school, captains of industry, college presidents, and University professors in almost every large University of the land, to say nothing of the many smaller colleges. Many of these, to be sure, due largely to the absence of Mennonite churches in the large centers of population among other causes, are no longer directly connected with the Mennonite denomination. But who can say that their success in their chosen work was not due in part at least to the honesty, uprightness and simplicity, inculcated by their Mennonite ancestors; these are the virtues that have characterized Mennonites the world over throughout their history. Recent years have brought about great changes in the opportunities offered Mennonite young people. They are attending colleges and universities in large numbers. In our own three Mennonite colleges during the previous year, there was an attendance of eight hundred, most of whom were of our own denomination. And so, the Mennonites are beginning to exert a much greater influence upon the general cultural and civic life of the day than formerly.

Time here permits the citation of only a few of these fundamental simple virtues that have been cherished by the Mennonites through the centuries. What could be more symbolic of the simple sincerity and genuineness of their life than the plain, unpretentious meeting houses as one sees them in both country and city, simple, modest, without tower or bell, with unpainted windows and unadorned archi-

tecture. Who would suspect as he walked down the Singel, that the unobtrusive basement door with the number 452, would lead through a narrow hallway to a large square plain room, in which worships the largest, the second oldest, and without doubt the wealthiest and the most influential Mennonite congregation in the world, numbering among its members some of the greatest financiers, the most prominent political leaders, and outstanding members of the learned professions, not only in the city of Amsterdam but in the entire Dutch nation.

Mennonites have always emphasized pure living as of equal importance with right thinking. Menno Simons was no philosopher, and not much of a theologian. He concerned himself very little with the hair-splitting theological theories which occupied so much of the time of his ecclesiastical contemporaries in their countless, fruitless, controversies. But he criticized most severely their impure practises and their idle living. Mennonites have always taught and practised a high moral standard of life, most especially of family life. In my wide acquaintance among the Mennonites of America, I do not know of a single case of divorce. I do not say there are none, but I know of none.

Does Menno Simons still have a message for the world today. In my judgment decidedly so! Religious freedom is threatened, now as in the days of the Reformation. Perhaps never before has the world given so much thought to the question of peace as now, and yet we are drifting straight toward another world war. In our standards of honesty, integrity and trustworthiness and in many fields of personal morality the world has slipped back a full century since 1914. The growing looseness of family ties, so greatly encouraged by the liberal theories and practices of the Russian communists, and the easy divorce laws of the United States, threatens to undermine the very foundations of our social and religious order.

Freedom, goodwill, integrity, simplicity and honesty—all these are just as much needed in the world today as they were four hundred years ago.

Mennonites have always been known for these virtues. They have tried as best they could to live them; but have they always done their full duty in teaching them to the world? Perhaps not. But let us hope that through such world congresses as this a new interest may be revived in the faith of the fathers and new determination to preach the gospel of peace and righteousness as they once did and for which they labored so nobly and many died so bravely.

BRIEF NOTES ON THE BERNESE WENGERS

John C. Wenger

It is a well-known fact that the typical German-speaking immigrant of the eighteenth century did not trouble himself to bring along genealogical data to America. A large number of family genealogies of varying worth have been published,[1] but many of them represent no serious research for earlier European data. Such a work is the *Wenger Family History,*[2] 1903. These Wengers trace their lineage to Christian Wenger who arrived at Philadelphia on September 30, 1727, on the ship "Molly." Nothing is known of his European history—not even that he came from the Palatinate, for *Pfälzer* was the general designation at Philadelphia in those days for a German-speaking immigrant. The question arises whether it is possible today to secure data on the Wengers prior to 1727. A brief historical introduction is in order.[3]

Until about the fourteenth century, family names in Switzerland and south Germany were not used. The Christian name was used, sometimes with a designating addition regarding occupation, origin, or personal appearance; for example, "Lame Karl," "Miller Hans," etc. During the early fourteenth century family names began to appear, however in many cases fixation was a slow and irregular process. In Bern family names were finally definitely fixed in the early sixteenth century when parish records began to be kept. Keeping these facts in mind will aid materially in evaluating the following data, which are gleaned from the state archives, at Bern, Switzerland.[4] One cannot place too much weight on the fact that a man was called Wenger five hundred years ago; perhaps his son was called Miller.

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1. A score of family genealogies of strongly Mennonite families are listed in my book, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference,* Telford, Pa., 1937, pp. 467-473.

2. *History of the Descendants of Christian Wenger who emigrated from Europe to Lancaster County, Pa., in* 1727 . . . by Jonas G. Wenger, Martin D. Wenger, Joseph H. Wenger, Elkhart, Indiana, Mennonite Publishing Company, 1903.

3. Based chiefly on the research of Mr. Gottlieb Kurz, formerly State Archivist, Bern, Switzerland, preserved in manuscript form and translated into English by Mr. Lerch.

4. The author is very grateful to Dr. R. von Fisher, State Archivist, for his kindness in furnishing the present author the assistance of a capable collaborator, Mr. C. D. Lerch. Mr. Lerch is himself a Mennonite of the Berner Jura and was most helpful.

Another fact to bear in mind is that there are no massive tomes, even in Switzerland, to which one can turn and find ready-made genealogies. An exhaustive search for all possible European data of any common Mennonite family would probably require six months and would ordinarily not result in a beautiful genealogy running back to the fourteenth century. One can find a considerable mass of individual items but cannot with any certainty construct a genealogy.

Incidentally, similar observations hold for family arms. Most families never had a coat-of-arms. Here and there an individual non-Mennonite did. For example, at Bern one may find coats of arms of a number of men named Wenger, but one cannot say of any one of these that this one is the Wenger arms. American arms-furnishing organizations do not usually advertise this fact.

According to Mr. Kurz, the origin of the name Wenger is to be explained as follows. In Switzerland are located a number of villages: Wang, Wangen, Wäng, Wängi, Wengi, and Wengen. These names originally had the same significance: "wide-extended meadows." In most cases these meadows are located on hillsides. In early times, when a man moved from Wengi or Wengen he was often called Wenger at his new residence; in other words: the man from Wengi, or Wengen. Sometimes he was simply so designated, e. g., "Uolrich of Wengi," and "Cristan of Wengen."

The Wenger families are Bernese, and the Mennonite Wengers are chiefly of the county (*Amtsbezirk*) of Thun and thereabouts. The main Bernese villages which gave rise to "Wengers" are as follows: In Frutigen county, canton of Bern, near the village of Frutigen, is the small village of Wengi. It belongs to the parish of Frutigen but also has some connection with the neighboring village (and parish) of Reichenbach. In the county of Interlaken and parish of Lauterbrunnen is the famous health resort of Wengen, situated near the Wenger Alps. North of the city of Bern is another Wengi, located in the county of Büren. In this community one finds no high mountains, only hills; while the other two villages, Wengi and Wengen, are located in the Alps of the Bernese Oberland.

Before presenting any detailed data it will be interesting to continue with the historical development. No doubt many men, as they left Wengi or Wengen, were called Wenger. Hence the present

bearers of the name in Switzerland are certainly not descended of one common ancestor. The Bernese Wengers spread out over the territory about Thun and Bern, especially on the left side of the Aare River (which flows north). The numerous Wengers of this region were probably at one time natives of the Wengi near Frutigen.

One more item of introduction must be added. About the end of the seventeenth century the canton of Bern declared that every inhabitant was a citizen of the place where he then lived. This "right of citizenship," or "origin" (*Heimatsrecht*), was made hereditary. It passes from father to children; the wife acquires by marriage the "right of origin" of her husband. But by the end of the seventeenth century the Wengers were already located in several dozen localities. The present Swiss Wengers possess the right of origin in thirty-one communities of Bern:[5]

Left side of the Aare River:

Thun County: Strättligen, Amsoldigen, Uebeschi, Oberstocken, Höfen, Pohlern, Thierachern, Uetendorf, Längenbühl, Forst, Blumenstein.

Seftigen County: Wattenwil, Rüeggisberg, Kirchenthurnen, Gurzelen, Gerzensee.

Schwarzenburg County: Rüschegg, Guggisberg, Wahlern, Albigen.

Bern County: Bern, Köniz, Oberbalm.

Right side of the Aare River:

Thun County: Thun, Unterlangenegg,[6] Oberlangenegg,[6] Buchholderberg.

Signau County: Röthenbach.

Besides the above, there are also Wengers at and from Grindelwald, county of Interlaken, who probably originated at the nearby Wengen, near Lauterbrunnen. There are also Wengers in the Zimlisberg community, Aarberg County, who undoubtedly once came from the Wengi near Büren. A Wenger family is also located at Tramelan–dessus, canton of Bern, in a French-speaking region, though they probably migrated there at an early date.

In the records of the early fourteenth century one finds many

5. Tabulated by Mr. Kurz. See note number 73.

6. The Longenecker family is assuredly Bernese, not French—as the Longacre Family History, p. 73, states (cited in my Franconia History, p. 17, footnote 52b).

individuals designated as "of Wengen," or "of Wengi." In 1303 Johannes von (of) Wengi was living in the village of Lobsingen, in the county of Aarberg, north of the city of Bern and near the Wengi of Büren County. On March 3 of that year he sold various items of real estate to the cloister at Frienisberg.[7] On August 12, 1303, a Nicolaus de Wengi is mentioned (in Latin).[8] Petrus de Wengi of Büren was involved in a real estate transaction on June 4, 1338 (recorded in Latin).[9] Peter von Wengi (evidently the same man) of Büren is mentioned on January 11, 1341.[10] On December 13, 1324 Heinricus de Wengen appears as a witness at a real estate transaction involving the Interlaken cloister.[11] Witnesses to a sale of a meadow to the same cloister on October 31, 1345, included a Kristan of Wengi.[12] And on May 11, 1347 Uolrich of Wengi was one of a number of men who testified that a number of people of Wengen and Bönigen were by extraction[13] serfs of the Cloister of Interlaken.[14] On February 28, 1349, Cristan of Wengen, near Interlaken, was among a large group of citizens who promised to pay a mass-fine of 1800 guilders for joining in a revolt against the Interlaken cloister.[14a] One could extend this list considerably, but the first step in the formation of a family name has been illustrated.

The next step is to note the actual occurrence of the name Wenger. It is found for the first time (known) in a document written between 1366 and 1368, in a list of the church-zins (taxes) of Amsoldingen, county of Thun. "Isti sunt qui tenent montem Vildri: Christian Wenger, . . ."[15] (These are those who live on Mount Fildri [also spelled Fildrich]: Christian Wenger . . . .) The same volume lists an Uelli Wanger;[16] and a Jaci (Jacob) Wenger,[17] 1371. And

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7. *Fontes Reum Bernensium, Berns Geschichtsquellen . . . , Bd.* IV, 1300-1317, p. 125.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 158.
9. *Op. cit., Bd. VI,* 1332-43; p. 417.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 562.
11. *Op. cit., Bd. V,* 1318-31, p. 441.
12. *Op. cit., Bd. VII,* 1344-53, p. 137.
13. If a free-man married a serf, the children were serfs, as the line of descent in such a case "followed the bad hand."
14. *F. R. B., Bd. VII, 1344-53,* p. 263.
14a. *Ibid.,* p. 406.
15. *F. R. B., Bd. IX, 1367-78,* p. 156, line 31.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 124, l. 6.
17. *Ibid.,* p. 283.

a farm is located on Wengers bül [Buhl—hill], near Blumenstein and Wattenwil, counties of Thun and Seftigen respectively.[18]

Late in the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth centuries, various Wengers began to appear among the "external citizens" of the city of Bern. An "external citizen" was a non-resident of Bern, but a man who had purchased citizenship in the city. In this capacity he was liable to perform military service and to the payment of heavy city taxes but in remuneration he had the protection of the city against oppression by nobles or ecclesiastics, especially in judicial matters.[19] In script of about 1390 a Cuentz (Conrad) Wenger of Zilmisberg [near Wengi in the county of Aarberg] was a citizen of Bern.[20] The same volume mentions a Cuentz Wenger,[21] a Peter Wenger,[22] a Cuni (Conrad) Wenger, zer Linden, of Zilmis (now Zimlisberg), 1440,[23] a Cuentzman Wengers of Ueder Rümlingen[24] and a Lienhart Wenger of Ansoltringen (now Amsoldingen).[25] In script of 1400—1420 is recorded[26] that Cuono (Conrad) Wengers of Blumenstein, an external citizen of the city of Bern, had paid three gulden [roughly equivalent to $100 today] to acquire legal residence in Bern. The location was half a house, the lower part, of a house on Spitalgasse, "shadow-side."[27] The same volume lists at least eight people who bear the name, "von Wengi."

As specimens of the type of records from which family history data must be gleaned, several cases are here presented. In 1393 Uelli (Ulrich) Wenger of the parish of Amsoldingen lived in Forst [county of Thun] and was under obligation to pay a state tax of five pounds. He paid ten shillings [half a pound] and was excused

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18. *Op. cit., Bd. VII, 1344-53,* p. 343.

19. For this and other historical backgrounds here described, the author is indebted to Mr. Lerch, a collaborator of Dr. R. von Fisher at the State Archives, Bern.

20. *Aelteres Adelbuch,* 1389- —, p. 279.

21. *Ibid,* p. 65. The house of Cuentz Wenger was later owned by Hensli (little John).

22. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 467.

24. *Ibid.,* p. 306.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 470. This was about 1460 apparently. In another book a later note, perhaps of 1480-90, states: "Little Willie shall tell me who Lienhart Wenger's heir [successor] is [in order to ask that successor if he would also not like to become an external citizen of the city of Bern]. *Ausburger-Rodel,* p. 99.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 279.

27. The city of Bern is so situated that one may designate "sunny" and "shadow" sides of streets with no danger of confusion.

from the payment of the remaining four and one-half pounds because he was a poor man.[28] Uelli was an external citizen of Bern.

In 1449, after a long and burdensome civil war in Switzerland (der alte Zurichkrieg), the city of Bern, in order to meet its obligations and to liquidate its debts, levied an extraordinary tax on all the people living in its territory. Everyone, be he an old man clinging to his stick, or a newborn baby in its cradle, had to pay an "angster" (2 pfennigs) every week.[29] Every four weeks the heads of the townships brought the money either to Bern or to the office of the nearest governor. This tax was to be paid a whole year long; the year in question had thirteen months. The tax was called the *Wuchenangster.* The records[30] of the city treasurer reveal that at Blumenstein in the county of Thun it was Cuoni (Conrad) Wenger who received the tax and delivered the money to the treasury. Most of the time Cuoni himself went to Bern [about twenty miles]; once he sent a farm-hand, once his son Cristan (Christian) and twice he sent friends. The total amount of all payments was fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings and eight pence. Blumenstein was undoubtedly the first and main seat of the Wengers on the left side of the Aare, and Cuoni Wenger was apparently mayor of Blumenstein at the time of the *Wuchenangster.*

An amusing case[31] involved a broken engagement. Hans Studer, son of Anthony of Poleren [Pohlern in Thun county], near Blumenstein and Barbara Wenger, daughter of John, of Tannenbühl in the county of Thun, were engaged to be married. However the boy's parents had not agreed to the match and made a protest. In view of the parents' [of Hans] non-agreement, and considering that the boy was still a minor [under 16] the Bernese government considered the grounds to be sufficient to dissolve the engagement. Consequently each one of them may marry whom he, and she, chooses! However, if John Wenger feels that his daughter's honor has been spoiled in some way, he may summon Hans Studer before an ordinary justice.[32] The decree was given on June 6, 1526.

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28. *Tellbuch,* 1393, *Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern. Finanzwesen XIV-XVIII Jahrhundert. Nr. 6,* p. 23 in section II. This happens to be the oldest binding of any book in the Archives at Bern.

29. Roughly equivalent to a U. S. A. dime of today.

30. Communicated by Mr. Lerch.

31. *Oberes Spruch-Buch, BB,* p. 562. This was written by Peter Cyro, State Chancellor of Bern in Reformation days. (The Bernese Reformation was late: January, February, 1528).

32. The old Bernese (probably also south German) custom, preserved a long

In 1570 Ulrich Wenger, living on the mountain in Ütendorf township [*Gemeinde*—used both in a civil and religious sense], county of Thun, became involved in a lawsuit with Peter Wenger, former mayor of Gurzelen [Seftigen county]. Peter had made an account which was unsatisfactory to Ulrich. On December 6, 1570 the Bernese government denied the petition of Ulrich for a new account and gave the decision to Peter Wenger.[33]

A more serious case came up about a decade later. Hans Wenger of Walperswil [east of Lake Bill] had beaten his step-mother and was sentenced to a term in prison. Afterward, he had to make a public confession of his misdeed in church. On January 23, 1580 he stood before the court and complained that although his subsequent conduct was good, he was still being pestered about his crime. He was given a document again authorizing him to bear arms [and to protect his honor with bullets!][34]

It is not known when Bernese Wengers began to turn to the Mennonite Church as converts. But as early as 1660 a Mennonite Hans Wenger of Kirchdorf [northwest of Thun], was imprisoned in Bern in the orphan-asylum, part of which was used as a prison on February 8 of that year. On August 27 the Urfehde [document demanding a promise not to take vengeance on the judges and to not return if deported] was read to the group of Mennonites imprisoned there, but they refused to promise. They said that they were in God's hands and they did not know what He might wish to do with them. On September 10, 1660 someone paid Wenger's board-bill of twenty-one crowns [about a hundred dollars in U. S. A. money, today] and he was taken from prison. He and ten other Mennonites were then put on a ship and sent down [the Aare River] to the [Austrian] border.[35]

On February 4, 1673 the Bernese government took action against the son of Peter Erb for giving "the old Mennonite (Täufer) Wenger" a hiding-place in his dwelling.[36] On September 6, 1675

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time in the state Reformed Church and not unknown today, was for a man to be certain that he would have an heir, before he married his fiancée. The ceremony took place a few months before the heir arrived and the girl often remained with her parents until after the birth of the child.

33. *Oberes Spruch-Buch, YY,* p. 335.

34. *Ibid., BBB,* p. 868.

35. *Turmbuch 1660/63,* pp. 6-9; *Mand. Buch* 8/192; Adolph Fluri, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bernischen Täufer,* Bern, 1912; Ernest Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer . . .* , Frauenfeld, 1895, p. 191.

36. *Rats-Manuale* 167/448.

sentence was pronounced on Anni Wenger, a deported Mennonite who had returned to Switzerland. In spite of earnest admonition, she remained disobedient. In consideration of "her great stiffneckedness" and in accordance with the mandate, she was whipped with rods and again conducted by officers to the border.[37] In 1709, Heini Wenger [some places, Wänger] of Wattenwil of Seftigen county was lying in prison in Bern, in the company of another Mennonite. Since the two would not "repent," the Bernese government gave orders on February 19 of that year that they should remain in prison until more of their companions in faith should also be imprisoned. The government would then decide what should be done with them. The "Mennonite Chamber" [committee to deal with the Mennonites] would be asked, in the meantime, to ascertain the wealth of the two men, and to make a report.[38] . . . On March 17, 1710 Heini Wenger of Wattenwil was on the list of the Mennonites slated to be sent to Pennsylvania,[39] but was set free on the way.[40]

On March 19, 1709 Ulrich Wänger and his wife were sentenced to three months hard work in prison (but no iron ring was to be placed around their necks) for giving food and lodging, contrary to law, to the Mennonite preacher, Jacob Bachman.[40a]

In the late fall of 1770 occurred quite an inheritance controversy in Bern.[41] One Peter Gerber and his wife, Elizabeth (Elsbeth), nee Müller, had, by careful skimping, left a fortune of 1327 crowns, 23 Bazen [25 Bazen = 1 crown] and 2½ Kreuzer [4 Kreuzer = 1 Baz]. Elizabeth died in 1764 and Peter in 1770. They left no children, and no will. Peter's three sisters then claimed the inheritance. They were: Catherine Gerber, wife of Hans Wenger of Buchholterberg, residing in the manor of Blumberg in Upper Alsace; Verena Gerber, wife of Christian Stucki in the St. Immer Valley, Bernese Jura; Barbara Gerber, widow of Rudolf Balzli at Iebsen in Upper Alsace. However the politicians wanted a share, too. The township of Buchholderberg also petitioned the government for a share. The township submitted that the three sisters

37. *Thurmbuch* 1675/78, p. 2
38. *R. M.* 33/66.
39. *Turmbuch* 1705/11, pp. 215 f.
40. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 277; also my book, *op. cit.*, p. 17, note 54.
40a. *Turmbuch* 1705/11, p. 196; *R. M.* 36/287.
41. *Signau Buch* 4/807 f.; *R. M.* 303/36.

belonged to the Mennonite communion, and in accordance with the *Täufermandat* had no right of inheritance. Further they (the township) had had to bear the expense of rearing Christian Stucki and although the Wenger couple were well-to-do, they had left the township pay the cost of rearing two orphan children of a brother as well as of an idiot-brother [of Wenger or of his wife]. And furthermore, submitted the township of Buchholderberg on October 14, 1770, there are the following heirs on the side of the deceased Elizabeth Müller Gerber: Christian Stucki, son of Anna Stucki, née Muller, and Catharine Berger, wife of Hans Bentler, and daughter of Madlena (Magdalena) Berger, née Müller, and they were both old and in great need! The government decided that as much of the fortune of the deceased wife, Elizabeth Muller and her husband as the law allows, should go to the nearest heirs. The remainder, which would belong to the deceased Peter Gerber's relatives should be given by the township to a guardian-executor on account, he being obligated to hold the same until it was claimed by legal heirs.

From such cases as this, buried in archives, must one secure genealogical notes of Mennonite families. For Mennonites there are, of course, no parish records of births, baptisms and marriages. As to lists of Bernese emigrants, the case is not much better. The government collected a ten per cent emigration-tax from all those leaving the country. Consequently many Mennonites, who were often poor,[42] fled secretly, "bei Nacht und Nebel," in order to take all their goods with them. Of such secret emigrations there are usually no records. However, a search in the state archives at Bern revealed an unusually long list of Wenger emigrants. Again it is to be noted that there can be no certainty in identifying a given emigrant with a given American immigrant.[43] Here is the list of Bernese Wengers who are known to have migrated:

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42. Not only poor, but subject to abuse. The government could declare a Mennonite bankrupt and "sell him out" at its pleasure. The government also took the share of one child in settling estates: if there were four children, the government collected one-fifth of the estate.

43. For a list of German-speaking immigrants, see Ralph Beaver Strassburger, LL.D., Edited by William John Hinke Rh.D., D.D.; *Pennsylvania German Pioneers,* Volumes I, II, III. Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, Penna., 1934.

Name	Archives-References		Whither
1. Wenger, _____	*Wimmis*	1708/09	Zweibrücken
2. Wenger, Matti	*Wimmis*	1716	Nassan-Saanderden
3. Wenger, Barbara	*Wimmis*	1725	Bischweiler
4. Wenger, Peter (1732)	*Signau*	1741/42	_____
5. Wenger, Streit	*Schwarzenburg*	1762	_____
6. Wenger, Hans	*Schwarzenburg*	1733/34	_____
7. Wenger, [Mr._____][45]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1704	_____
8. Wenger, Samuel[46]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1705	_____
9. Wenger, Mrs. _____[47]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1706	_____
10. Wenger, Christian[48]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1720	_____
11. Wenger, Christian[49]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1733	_____
12. Wenger, Anna	*Thun/Interlaken*	1723	Carolina[44]
13. Wenger Sisters	*Thun/Interlaken*	1728	Wittenberg
14. Wenger, Matte, together with Anna	*Thun/Interlaken*	1732	[Wurttemberg(?)]
15. Wenger, Peter[50]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1732	Palatinate
16. Wenger, Hans[51]	*Thun/Interlaken*	1737	Palatinate
17. Wenger, Hans	*Thun/Interlaken*	1746	Württemberg
18. Wenger Geschwister[52]	*Thun*	1760	Württemberg
19. Wenger, Peter	*Oberhofen*	1713	Niederland
20. Wenger, Conrad[53]	*Schwarzenburg*	1707/08	Alsace
21. Wänger, Peter[54]	*Schwarzenburg*	1717/18	Zweibrücken
22. Wänger, Hans[55]	*Schwarzenburg*	1721/22	Zweibrücken

44. "Carolina," "Virginia" and "Pennsylvania" were all synonymous for the Bernese emigrants and simply meant "America."

45. He left with 18 crowns. His brother David of Thierachern [Thun county] paid an emigrant tax for him, of six pounds, on December 13, 1704.

46. Of Stocken [near Blumenstein, Thun County], left with 67 crowns and paid an emigrant tax of twenty-two pounds and eight shillings on June 6, 1705.

47. On December 4, 1706 Johannes Wenger [assuredly of Thun] paid thirty pounds emigrant tax for his mother who was living in the Palatinate and had 300 pounds.

48. On July 6, 1720 Hans Konitzer of Ubeschi [Thun County] paid forty crowns, that is 13 pounds, 6 s. and 8 d. in the name of Christian Wenger who was living in Württemberg.

49. *Weggezogene Mannrechte, 1694-1754* [a list of those who renounced their citizenship]; Christian Wenger, March 24, 1733, of Pohlern [Thun County;] emigrated to Württemberg. Might these two names represent the same individual?

50. *Ibid.*: He was of Thierachern [in Thun County]; [relinquished his citizenship on] May 3, 1732.

51. *Ibid.*: He was of Ubeschi [in Thun County]. He emigrated to Sassenheim, county of Fleckenstein, Alsace. January 9, 1737.

52. A German word meaning children, irrespective of sex and age.

53. Of Winterkraut [in the county of Schwarzenburg]; paid an emigration tax of 1 pound, from a "fortune" of 10 pounds.

54. Paid an emigration tax of 3 pounds, 6 s. and 8 d. from a fortune of 20 crowns.

55. From a fortune of ten crowns, paid an emigration tax of one crown (1 pound, 13 s., 6 d.).

23. Wenger, David,[56] journeyman cabinet-maker,[57] of Könitz, [county of Bern]; August 23, 1694.

24. Wänger, Anna,[56] with her children, widow of Hans Ulrich Ruche; July 3, 1709.

25. Wänger, Nicholas;[56] October 26, 1709; of Thurnen, [county of Seftigen]; permitted to pay an emigration tax of only 5%, probably due to poverty.[58]

26. Wenger, Samuel;[56] February 13, 1732; of Pohlern, [county of Thun]; left with his family.

27. Wänger, Jacob;[56] February 2, 1717; of Utendorf, [county of Thun]; emigrated to the Preussian county of Rupin, [north Germany].

28. Wenger, Peter,[56] January 23, 1720; of Gurzelen [county of Seftigen]; emigrated to Drachenbronn, county of Zweibrücken, Palatinate.

A census of the Swiss immigrants in Alsace in the latter seventeenth century[59] includes the following:

1. Elizabeth Wenger
   In Bouxwiller, 1688, Mietesheim; of Oberstocken, Bern.
2. Hans Wenger
   In Ringendorf, 1654, Mietesheim, of Turbach,[60] Bern.
3. Elizabeth Wanger
   In Brumath, 1687, Bouxwiller; of Oberstocken, Bern.
4. Friedrich Wenger
   In Hoerdt, 1699, Dunzenheim; of Switzerland.
5. Hans Wenger
   In Ingwiller, 1666, Dunzenheim; of Bern.

On January 1, 1672 Deacons Valentine Huetwol and Johann Clemeintz of "Griesheim", together with the most prominent minister of the Swiss Brethren, Juraen Liechte, [in a letter of Huetwol (Heatwole)] included a census which the three men had made in four days, of the Swiss refugees in the Palatinate. Seventy-five heads of families are listed. Among them were Christ. Wenger, aged 75, a widower who had left six children behind, and had one with him.[61]

A generation later, Preacher Hans Burkhalter of Geroldsheim in the Palatinate, wrote to the Dutch Committee for Foreign Needs,

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56. *Weggezogene Mannrechte, 1694-1754.*

57. There were at that time three grades of labor in a trade: apprentice, journeyman, master.

58. Or politics; he had 70 crowns. Emigrated with his children to Germany. *R. M.* 39/328.

59. *Collection D'Etudes Sur L'Historie Du Droit Et Des Institutions De L'Alsace.* VI. *L'Immigration Suisse Dans Le Comte De Hanau-Lichtenberg au Dix-Septieme Siecle Par Walter Bodmer* . . . Strasbourg, Imprimerie Heitz & Cie., 1930.

60. Probably Dürrbach in Seftigen county, township of Riggisberg.

61. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

appealing for 100 gulden, later for 500 gulden, for the family of Christian Wenger, reduced to poverty through a cattle epidemic.[62] This was in 1730. A year later, a catalog of the Mennonites in the Upper Palatinate (November, 1731) included Christian Wenger's widow in Eckerhof, one hour east of Wersloch.

In the same general period three Mennonite Wengers were found in the Bernese Jura:[63] Anna Wenger of Diessbach[64] in the region of Vauffelin and Plagne, north of Pieterlen (1730); Hans Wenger of Amsoldingen[64] in the region between Péry La Hutte and Sonceboz Sombeval (1724); and Joseph Wenger of Amsoldingen[64] of Péry-La Hutte.

A number of Wengers also appeared among the Swiss refugees which were deported by ship to Amsterdam in 1711. Included were: Elizabeth Wenger of Thierachern, a maiden lady of 38, a refugee from the Bernese Oberland;[65] on the Thun ship came Peter Krähenbuhl of Diessbach, *Küfer,*[66] Reformed, his wife Anna Wenger, aged 38, a Mennonite, and three sons, 6 to 3;[67] Niklaus Gerber, Landmann[68] of Thun, 34, his wife Magd. Wenger, 24, and two sons: they came on the Neuenburger ship;[67] also on the same ship was Peter Wenger, Landmann[68] of Blumenstein, 79, and his wife, Kath. Wyler, 70.

A decade or so ago Mr. Kurz, then State archivist in Bern, conducted research on the Wenger and Winger immigrants to America of 1754 and 1735 respectively.[69] This information he communicated to Prof. Albert B. Faust, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., which material was subsequently published.[70]

During the nineteenth century the Swiss Wengers produced two renowned clergymen. Johannes Wenger (1811-1880) was

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62. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

63. To this day the Swiss Mennonites in the Jura, a French-speaking region, live in the hills and speak the Swiss German they took there long ago. The writer recently visited Preacher Samuel Geiser of Fontaines, Mont Tramelan in the Jura and was entertained with true Mennonite hospitality.

64. The "right of origin."

65. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

66. Cooper, barrel-maker.

67. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

68. Probably, peasant.

69. August 26, 1735: Anna Winger 56, Anna Winger 18, Lazarus Winger 19; October 1, 1754: Joseph Wenger.

70. Faust: *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies, National Genealogical Society, Washington, D. C., Volume I,* 1920; *Volume II,* 1925.

born at Buchholderberg, taught in England, 1833-38, and served as missionary to India from 1838 until his death. He translated the Scriptures into Bengali and Sanscrit. Rudolph Wenger (1831-1899) a cousin of Johannes, was a minister of Eriswil in the Emmental (1864-73), then at Heinrichsbad. He was also an author. Another author and member of the family by marriage was Mrs. Lisa Wenger, née Ruutz (1858-), born at Basel, author of novels, plays in dialect, and fiction for children.[71]

One woman, Magdalena Wenger (b. 1823), has acquired a certain celebrity in medical literature. She was the daughter of Abraham Wenger and Margarite Issler of Oberstocken, and had many healthy brothers and sisters. She enjoyed good health until about her twentieth year, but at that time she became inflicted with a sort of convulsion. Now and then she became partially unconscious and while in this state spoke as a sort of clairvoyant. She was taken to a hospital in Bern for treatment, where she remained from September, 1845 to February, 1846. The history of the case as well as her utterances were accurately recorded. Prof. Dr. Maximilian Perty of the University of Bern wrote up the case in one of his publications.[72] Magdalena returned home permanently cured. She was married on July 6, 1850 to Johann Gottfried Ulrich of Niedermuhlern, near Bern and had a happy home life.[71]

The data here presented on the Wenger family is not intended to be exhaustive. Many more items of interest could be gleaned from the state archives at Bern, Switzerland, as well as from the local parish records (of the non-Mennonite Wengers) in the places where they have, or have had, the *Heimatsrecht*.[73] The American Wengers will not be treated in this article.[74]

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71. Information of Mr. Kurz.

72. *Die mystischen Erscheinungen in der menschlichen Natur.*

73. It is certain that the Wengers possessed this "right of origin" at an earlier date in a number of communities where there are no Wengers today.

74. On the American Wengers, see the brief sketches in the recently-published *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary*, Daniel Kauffman, Editor, Scottdale, Pa., 1937, pp. 392-394.

EARLY MENNONITE SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON HELPS

JOHN UMBLE

Studies of Mennonite Sunday school literature reveal that many years of waiting and numerous experiments were required to produce the present quarterlies and other lesson helps in use in the Old Mennonite Church. In his *Two Centuries of Mennonite Literature* Professor Bender points out that "the first known piece of Sunday school literature" produced by Mennonites was *Das Unparteyische Biblische Fragenbuch zum Gebrauch in Sonntagschulen u. Familien für Kinder Unterricht,* published in 1859 at Milford Square, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, by the Mennonitischer Druckverein. This General Conference publication preceded the first similar Old Mennonite lesson material by more than a decade.

It seems, however, that John F. Funk had some such material in mind from the very beginning of his work as editor of the *Herald of Truth.* Funk had attended a union Sunday school as early as 1846 near his former Pennsylvania home and often spoke of the kind superintendent who had taught him Scripture portions and hymns. In his Sunday school work at Chicago in 1857-58, when he and D. L. Moody taught in the Sunday school held "in the little old wooden church on the corner of Wells Street and Chicago Avenue on the North Side," his convictions concerning the benefits of such a school and of appropriate lesson materials were greatly strengthened. When he began publishing the *Herald of Truth,* therefore, in 1864, he devoted a column to the children, "The Children's Column," beginning with the first issue. He was sufficiently brave to mention "Sunday school" in the first of those early attempts to supply suitable reading material for children. This, it must be remembered, was some years before any conference, Mennonite or Amish, sanctioned Sunday schools, and while several conferences were still vigorously opposing them. A little more than twenty-six years later, March, 1890, Funk could advertise a series of *Question Books* in English and German and a Mennonite edition of the International Lessons issued as a *Lesson Monthly.* He could

also supply four or five English and German Sunday school papers: *Words of Cheer* and *Welcome Tidings* in English; *Der Christliche Jugendfreund* and *Angenehme Stunden* in German, and probably also a German edition of *Welcome Tidings*. But the intervening steps compose an interesting chapter in Mennonite literary history.

Funk himself signed the first "Children's Column," in 1864 but gave it over a few years later to Deacon Henry B. Brenneman after the latter moved to Elkhart from Fairfield County, Ohio. One feature of the "Column" was the section devoted to the letters written to "Uncle Henry" by the children. Through the years the *Herald* continued to encourage Sunday schools editorially, and in 1869 the "Children's Column" became the "Children's Department," with an ever stronger emphasis on Sunday school work; but the department gave no special help to the Sunday school pupil until 1873. In December, 1872, "Uncle Henry" secured J. F. Funk's permission to expand the "Children's Department" into a four-page "Extra" with the pages numbered 193-96. Although this four-page "Extra" contained no special Sunday school material, Henry Brenneman's purpose seems to have been to supply the children with a bit of reading matter to take the place of the Sunday schools, which had now been discontinued for the winter season, and to temper their disappointment in the annual closing of the Sunday schools.

About this time the *Herald* states editorially that our "Brethren in Pennsylvania and Virginia are discussing the necessity of arranging a Scripture Question Book for the use of the Sunday school adapted to the peculiar views of our own church in regard to the anti-war doctrine, baptism on faith, nonconformity to the world, etc." Hence the series of Sunday school lessons printed in the "Supplement" during the summer of 1873 evidently was intended to supply an existing need. Although there is no direct evidence that Henry Brenneman was the editor of the series, most of the editorials presenting hints for the use of lessons and encouraging their wider distribution, are signed by "Brother Henry." J. F. Funk's absence in the West during a large part of the summer in the interests of the in-pouring streams of Russian Mennonite immigrants supplies another reason for crediting the editorship if not the actual authorship of the lessons to Henry Brenneman. Various helps were in print during 1873, the year after the first adoption of the International Uniform Lesson Series. It would be interesting to learn

whether Uncle Henry's material was original or if it was borrowed, whence it was derived.

At any rate, when he continued the "Supplement" in the spring of 1873 he seems to have had two well-defined aims. One was to publish a children's Sunday school paper; the other was to supply Sunday school lesson material. Beginning in May and continuing into October the *Herald* printed a Sunday school lesson for every Sunday. The series was taken from Matthew, beginning with the birth of Jesus and ending with Matthew 11:16-30. In May the *Herald* states editorially: "We have determined to issue these papers, because we need them in our own school, and because a number of the brethren in other places, have expressed their desire to have them, and we have no doubt many others will soon see the necessity of having them." The "extras" were sent free to all Herald subscribers. They were sold to Sunday schools at two dollars a year for ten copies or fifty copies for seven dollars and fifty cents.

That the idea underwent development as the summer wore on is evident from the changing heads. In May and June (pp. 1 and 5) the heading is *Herald of Truth — Supplement* with the sub-head, *Children's Department.* It should be remembered that the "Supplement," like the "extra" of December, 1872, was in reality a supplement to the "Children's Department" which was continued under Uncle Henry's editorship as a regular department of the *Herald* throughout the summer of 1873. Beginning with the July issue (p. 9), the supplement remains *Herald of Truth Supplement,* but the sub-head becomes *Herald Series of Sunday School Lessons.* In the May and June supplements the lessons are treated as an article headed "The Herald Series of Sunday School Lessons." Beginning in July the article heading is "Sunday School Lessons."

Since each four-page supplement was intended to be taken to Sunday school on four consecutive Sundays, it soon became evident that it would become much soiled and worn with use. In the June issue, either by accident or design, the second lesson ended at the bottom of the last column on page two. All subsequent issues followed this plan; and in the September and October issues a brief note by "Brother Henry" fills out the second page so that the next lesson may begin on the third page of the supplement; but the editor's failure to call attention to the advantages of the new arrangement until the July issue may mean that the discovery of those

advantages was accidental. "These lessons are so arranged," says the editor in this issue, "that the leaves may be cut apart, and while the first lessons are used, the other pages can be laid away and kept clean until needed."

In the same issue Brother Henry, superintendent of the Elkhart Mennonite Sunday school, now in its third year, sets forth what was probably the method he employed in using the lessons. "The object of these Sunday school lessons, . . . is to assist the teachers to explain to their classes, that portion of the Scriptures read for their lesson. They are also of great value and greater help to the children if they use them in a proper way.

"Every scholar should take his paper home with him, and during the week he should attentively study the lesson for the next Sabbath, so that they can all be prepared to answer all the questions readily which belong to it, and this will make it very interesting. After the classes are done, the superintendent can ask the whole school such questions as relate to the lesson."

The foregoing indicates plainly that the concept of Sunday school instruction held by Deacon Henry Brenneman was derived from the catechetical tradition, the memorizing of questions and answers.

The arrangement of the material, but especially the type of questions, also shows the influence of this tradition. The style of the lessons remains uniform throughout the series. After the lesson number and date (number one is dated May 4, 1873) and the subject and lesson scope ("The Savior's Birth.—worshiped by the wise men, Matt. 2:1-15") follows the Scripture passage. Then come the "References and Explanations." These are Scripture cross references and a few simple explanations that, in most cases, really do explain. In some issues the references and explanations are printed in eight-point (small) type. Last of all came the questions, always printed in eight-point type so as to take up less space. Some of the questions can be answered with yes or no, but most of them in the words of the printed text or from the explanations. In order to assist the children in finding answers to the questions the number of the verse was printed with the question. A few of the fifty-three questions on the first lesson follow:

> *Ques.* Where was Jesus born? What is the meaning of the word Bethlehem? *Ans.* The house of bread. *Ques.* Why called Bethlehem in Judea? *Ans.* To distinguish it from an-

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other Bethlehem in Galilee. *Ques.* How far is it from Jerusalem? *Ans.* About five miles. *Ques.* In what direction? *Ans.* South. *Questions:* Who was the king of Judea? Who came to Jerusalem? Why? Where did they come from? What did they say? What had they seen? Why did they come? What is worship? What did Herod do? Who were the chief priests? Who were the scribes? Why did Herod call upon him? What did the wisè men do? What went before them? Who sent the star to guide them? Does God still guide those to Jesus who wish to worship Him? Will He guide children? Do you seek Jesus? What did they do when they saw Jesus? What gifts did they present? Ought we to worship Jesus? Rev. 5:12-14. Did the wise men return to Herod? Why not? Does God watch over and care for His people? How long did they remain in Egypt? What prophecy was fulfilled by this?

Before the Sunday school teacher or pupil of the fourth decade of the twentieth century yields to his impulse to smile at the simplicity, the naîveté, of some of these questions he should remind himself that less than five years before this work was being edited and printed by a Mennonite Sunday school superintendent there had not been a single Mennonite Sunday school in all Indiana and probably not more than a half dozen in Ohio and Illinois. Furthermore this same kind of lesson material appeared in the Sunday school helps published by other printing establishments.

Helpful as these lessons must have been and harmless as they certainly were, they did nevertheless arouse much criticism. A storm of protest arose against the innovation. Some subscribers to the *Herald of Truth*, opposed to Sunday school in any form, and others, although favoring Sunday school, were unfavorable to the introduction of any text books except the Bible or the New Testament, and felt that they were mistreated in having such material mailed into their homes under cover of their subscription to the *Herald*. Many cancelled their subscriptions. Even those who favored both the Sunday school and the Sunday school leaflet became alarmed at the well-meaning but misunderstood efforts of the editors. In September the *Herald* states (perhaps "promises" would be more nearly correct) that "our Sunday school Supplement will hereafter be sent only to those who subscribe for it." "We hope,"

he continues, "there will be many who will find it to their advantage and edification to read and study these lessons."

Fortunately, a record remains of what happened in one Sunday school when the International Lessons were introduced. In 1876 the Champaign County, Ohio, Sunday school introduced lesson leaves (probably the Berean Lessons) containing the International Uniform Lessons to take the place of the chapter readings from the New Testament. The first lesson used in the lesson leaves was from I Kings 8:5-11. The secretary's report deplores the lack of interest on the Sunday when the lessons were first used. But the attendance record indicates that the pupils boycotted the lessons and began a deliberate program of non-participation. Out of a total attendance of 128, thirty-four were "spectators." The report states significantly, "Half of the spectators today were pupils." In other words, because something "new" had been introduced, fifteen or twenty regularly enrolled pupils refused to sit in the classes but sat in the back part of the house as spectators. At the next meeting of the Sunday school there were only fifty-six pupils present and only thirteen "spectators." It was found necessary to abandon the use of the helps and for the next twenty years the only Sunday school textbook used in that Sunday school was the New Testament, if one excepts the little German spelling books that were introduced during the 80's.

Not only as a piece of strategy to advance the Sunday school cause, but also as a financial measure, the new leaflets were a failure. In October the editor states that when the Sunday schools close for the winter so few subscribers will be left that, after this number, publication will be suspended for the winter. Subscribers who have paid in advance may either have their money refunded or have "the balance applied on their papers next summer when their publication will no doubt be renewed."

On J. F. Funk's return from the West he expresses concern that during his absence certain changes had crept into the editorial policy and, after insisting that these have been eliminated, promises to be more careful not to give offence in the future. That the publication of these lessons was never resumed in the *Herald* probably indicates nothing more than that once more John F. Funk and his coworkers had shown themselves whole decades ahead of the times. "The Children's Department" continued under the editorship of

Henry Brenneman until the purchase of the *Words of Cheer* by the Mennonite Publishing Company in 1878. The "Kinder-Abtheilung" in the German *Herald,* the *Herold der Wahrheit,* was not discontinued until the Mennonite Publishing Company purchased *Der Christliche Jugendfreund* and assumed charge of it in January, 1881. At that time Martin D. Wenger, editor of the "Kinder-Abtheilung" in the *Herold* for the past three years, was appointed editor of the *Jugendfreund.* In his first editorial he states that since the *Herold* is now editing the *Jugendfreund* the "Kinder-Abtheilung" will be omitted from future issues of the *Herold.* Since the space has been too small to interest the young folks, he hopes that everyone will approve of the change and that the young readers of the "Kinder-Abtheilung" will ask their parents to subscribe for the *Jugendfreund.*

A single column in the first issue of the *Herald of Truth* and the *Herold der Wahrheit,* in 1864, the "Children's Column" in the former and the "Kinder-Abtheilung" in the latter, had grown by easy stages to the *Words of Cheer* and *Der Christliche Jugendfreund,* respectively, by January, 1880. On that date, for the first time, both of these publications were owned and controlled by the Mennonite Publishing Company. Since Funk and his co-workers still believed firmly in the International Sunday School Lessons, it was to be expected that they would make one more trial of publishing this material in the church papers. If not in the *Herald,* why not in the Sunday school papers, the *Words of Cheer* and *Der Christliche Jugendfreund*? they naturally asked.

The *Words of Cheer* had begun as a privately owned monthly magazine for children and young people. H. A. Mumaw, owner and publisher, printed the first number at Orrville, Ohio, in January, 1876. The first eleven issues did not contain Sunday school lesson material. In December 1876, however, Mumaw begins printing one lesson in each issue. The first four lessons are "Jesus is born—is Presented in the Temple" (December), "The Wise Men; Herod's Cruelty" (January), "Jesus Among the Doctors" (February), and "Jesus begins to Preach and Baptize" (March). These were not the International Lessons. The arrangement is nearly the same in each issue: "Title," "Place or places," "Geography," "Practical Lessons—Illustrations" (omitted in December and February), and "Explanations." The explanations seem to be reprinted from

the *S. S. Teachers' Manual.* In April, the editorial policy undergoes change. Mumaw states that he is introducing a new feature, that he has adopted the International system. "The programme of study is that prepared by the International Committee representing all the Christian denominations of the country."

In order to meet the objection of false doctrine he tactfully concludes, "Of course each church has its own exposition of the lesson. We also are having our own notes and comments especially prepared for the *Words of Cheer.* After he decides to print four lessons a month (five in April, since Sunday fell on April 1 in 1877), each "lesson" consists simply of the printed scripture portion followed by comments. The *Herald* at Elkhart calls attention editorially to Mumaw's "new feature" and thinks it "an excellent thing for Sunday Schools." But in May Mumaw decides to omit the lessons; his "space is too limited" . . . . His editorial, (June, 1877), on this question of Sunday school material is of sufficient importance to warrant quoting entire:

> "We have made arrangements to send the *Berean Lesson Leaf* each month with *Words of Cheer,* for five cents extra, to our subscribers who would like to have the International Bible or Sunday School Lessons to use in their Sunday schools, or for general study. It contains lessons for every Sunday in each month, and gives fuller explanations and notes than we could give in a paper the size and price of the *Words of Cheer.*
> "In the April number we inserted the International S. S. Lessons, but, seeing that they would take too much space, we left them out of the next number. Hereafter, we shall supply them in the manner stated above, and, in connection with them, also devote about one page of the *Words of Cheer* to condensed notes and comments on these lessons. Price *Words of Cheer* 25 cents, with *Berean Lesson Leaf* 30 cents per year. Reduced rates to Sunday Schools."

In short, the *Words of Cheer,* beginning in June, omits printing the Sunday school lesson material except in very condensed form, and now supplies its readers with the *Berean Lesson Leaf* printed by David C. Cook and Company. It was probably cheaper to do this than to employ an editor of Sunday school material for the *Words of Cheer.* The lessons for the second quarter in 1877 were on Kings

and Prophets of Israel. July began a series on Paul. The notes and comments in the *Words of Cheer* were quite condensed.

Mumaw's last printing of a Sunday school lesson appeared in the January, 1878, issue of the *Words of Cheer.* When the Mennonite Publishing Company purchased the little magazine in March of that year, the Sunday school lessons were dropped. The experience of 1873 apparently was still too vivid to permit risking the publication of Sunday school lessons. Under the cautious editorship of Joseph Sommers the *Words of Cheer* carefully avoided them for over two years. The only material of this kind was a half-page of "Catechism for Children" or "Scripture Questions" in every issue.

Meanwhile, however, Samuel Guengerich, of Amisch, Johnson county, Iowa, editor and publisher of *Der Christliche Jugendfreund* yielded to an insistent demand for Sunday school lessons and printed his first material of this kind in the June, 1879, issue. He finds space for only two lessons a month and insists that four lessons would have occupied half or more of his paper. He does a really intelligent piece of work. In addition to the scripture passage, he presents historical notes, explanatory notes, questions, and applications (Nutzanwendung). In the same issue he prints the five stanzas and music of the beautiful German hymn, "O braucht die Zeit!" Guengerich continues to print two lessons a month but admits that if he is to publish them at all he should print one for each Sunday. While he seems worried at the unsatisfactory response his paper is receiving, he hopefully plans for an enlarged publication or a semi-monthly printing. In the January 1880 issue he announces that the lessons have been discontinued because all the Sunday schools are closed for the winter, but he promises more lessons when the Sunday Schools re-open in the spring.

Apparently in an effort once more to sound out public opinion on the question of lesson helps, the Mennonite Publishing House made the following announcement in the *Herald,* issue of April, 1880:

> "In order to meet the demands of our Sunday Schools we have commenced the preparation of a series of lessons with explanations and questions. These lessons will be published in the *Words of Cheer* in the English language and in the *Jugendfreund* in German. They will also be printed on separate sheets for schools which desire them in that way at small extra cost.

> There will be a lesson for every Sunday, and these papers will be printed in time, so that they can be had with the first Sunday in each month" . . . .

Although neither the *Herald of Truth* nor the *Jugendfreund* venture to state that the lessons used are the International Uniform Series, the *Words of Cheer* boldly asserts editorially that the "Sunday School Lessons published in this number of the Words of Cheer are the International Sabbath School Lessons which are studied in nearly all the schools all over the country." What seems to be happening is that while the more conservative church leaders and most of the German Sunday schools are still holding back from the Uniform Lessons, the schools where some English is taught are beginning to insist on those lessons. The problem of the publishing house begins to be to present something sufficiently advanced for one group and not too advanced for the other. Guengerich's imagination is no less stirred than Sommers' by the international idea but he expresses himself more indirectly. "How pleasing it must be to God, if thousands of children read the same portion of Scripture on the same day and on the same Sunday learn and repeat from memory the same lesson whereby the thoughts and hearts of many children are directed to God at the same hour."

The emphasis on learning and repeating from memory reveals that many of the best Sunday school workers still held to the catechetical tradition. In the *Words of Cheer* Sommers expresses the same idea, "The success in using these lessons depends altogether upon teachers and superintendents. They should insist on having the children commit to memory at least a part of the lesson." The effect of this tradition is shown still further by the change in the lesson material between April and May. In the April issue of the *Words of Cheer* and of the *Jugendfreund,* the material has a somewhat modern arrangement: Lesson number and date, "daily readings," "golden text," "central truth," "explanation," and "questions." By using 8-point type, the editors can crowd the lessons into space varying from one to one and one-half columns. Beginning with May, however, and continuing through October, the half-column or more of explanation and the questions are replaced by two-thirds or three-fourths of a column of "questions and answers" intended to be committed to memory and repeated like a catechism. The use made of this and similar material in the Mennonite Sunday schools

of the period is indicated in a letter written to the *Words of Cheer* a few months earlier by J. M. Harshbarger, of Stonewall, Virginia: "We enrolled forty-eight pupils in our Sabbath school, some of whom committed nearly a thousand questions [and answers] and several hundred verses and reviewed at the close of school" . . . . What a feat this would be in one of our present day Sunday schools! Not only to commit to memory nearly a thousand questions and answers and several hundred Scripture verses, but also to be able to review them at the end of the summer!

While some schools may have appreciated these lessons in the *Words of Cheer* and the *Jugendfreund,* this second attempt to include Sunday school lesson material in the church periodicals ended in failure. The response was very disappointing. After October no more International Sunday School Lessons appeared in either English or German for another decade. During the summer of 1880 the demand had been so limited that it was a losing financial venture, and the response did not warrant continuing at a loss. The Lesson Series for 1880 was issued in leaflet form as the 1873 series had been, but, since they were published also in the periodicals, it seems unlikely that any of the leaflets have been preserved. They are not mentioned by Professor Bender in his *Two Centuries of Mennonite Literature,* but as the second independent publication of Mennonite Sunday School Lessons and the first Mennonite printing of International Uniform Sunday School Lessons they are of considerable significance. After this rather unsatisfactory second attempt the Publishing House, as stated above, omitted all Sunday school or catechetical material from the *Words of Cheer.* The *Jugendfreund,* probably because it catered largely to the Russian Mennonites and to Conservative Amish, resumed, in 1881, the publication of extracts from the *Katechismus,* newly reprinted in the same year.

It is more than probable that a recent success in another field had helped in 1880 to turn the Publishing House from its second unsuccessful attempt to educate its constituency to the use of the International Lessons. This success, as sudden as it was long awaited and yet quite unexpected, was the unprecedented interest of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, Sunday school workers in a new series of Sunday school class books modeled on the plan of the *Katechismus.*

The reader will recall an editorial statement in the *Herald,* mentioned earlier in this article, that in 1872 the brethren in Pennsylvania were discussing the necessity of arranging a Scripture Question Book. Funk's experiments with the International Lesson material may have been an attempt to lead from the Scripture question idea to the use of the uniform lessons. But the step was too long a one. He must let the International Lessons wait for another decade. The Scripture question book was what Pennsylvania wanted, and it would be satisfied with nothing else. From 1872 to 1879 the demand had grown more and more insistent. Young people were attending Sunday schools of other denominations and were leaving the church of their fathers in large numbers. Influential ministers became alarmed. Prominent laymen said to their bishops "We must have Sunday schools." For years the bishops replied, "You have no safe books; if you get books from other publishing houses you will lead the people away with strange doctrine." But the demand becoming more insistent, finally elicited the response, "So soon as you get books from our own publishing house teaching our own doctrine, you may have Sunday school."

Then the leaders sent for Funk. He hurried to Lancaster county, and, for a week, during the busy spring season, he, with Jacob N. Brubaker and Amos Herr, brother of Bishop Benjamin Herr, worked almost night and day to produce the *Intermediate Question Book* and the *Primary Question Book.* The committee was assisted by Bishop Isaac Eby and Bishop Benjamin Herr. Funk hurried home with the copy, rushed the books through the press and in an amazingly short time had the printed booklets in the hands of his friends in Pennsylvania. The leaders in the movement now said to the bishops, "Here are books edited and printed by our own people." Then the bishops replied, "Go ahead and have Sunday school."

The question books seem to have been compiled during early April or late March. Funk made no mention of them in the April (1880) number of the *Herald* when he called attention to the "series of lessons with explanations and questions" to "be published in the Words of Cheer in the English language and the Jugendfreund in German" and also "on separate sheets for schools which desire them in that way." These were the International Lessons mentioned above. In the May *Herald,* however, for the first time, Funk could announce, "we have now in press two Sunday School

Question books, which were compiled by a committee of brethren, appointed with the sanction and under the direction of the Bishops of Lancaster Co., Pa." After this time there is no more reference in the Herald to the International Lessons. He pressed the booklet idea with such success that printing after printing of the little booklets was absorbed by rich and populous Lancaster county. With the publication of these question books the Sunday school movement received a tremendous impetus in the East.

The two books were the *Intermediate Question Book* and the *Primary Question Book.* Each book contained sixty-one lessons; the intermediate, with ninety-seven pages, sold for fifteen cents; the primary, a smaller book, sold for ten. "The lessons in both books," Funk states editorially in the May *Herald,* "are taken from the same portion of Scripture, and contain both the questions and answers; but the Primary is much more simple, and adapted to the understanding of small scholars, while the Intermediate is adapted to the more advanced classes." He constantly reminds the readers of the *Herald* that these booklets were "prepared and published by the sanction and under the instruction of the bishops of the Lancaster county Conference." In addition to these two books compiled by the committee, the *Herald* advertised in the June issue "an Infant Class Lesson Book, adapted to very young learners." It sold for six cents. It was "a little reading book with simple Bible stories and a few simple questions to each lesson" and was "intended for small scholars just able to read." This book, whose title-page gives J. S. Coffman as the author, was no doubt compiled during May. Because the Sunday school cause was still far from popular in some sections of the church, both the *Herald* and the author of the book no doubt felt it would be unwise to imperil his influence as an evangelist by connecting his name with Sunday school literature, for his name is not mentioned in the advertisements of the books.

Although the original plan for the series of booklets included a *Bible Class Question Book,* this was not published in 1880 because the committee did not have time to complete its work. On March 7, 1881, Funk left Elkhart for Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to meet the committee. He does not state that the two bishops met with them on this occasion, but the committee worked for ten days. Funk describes the result of their work as "a neat little *Question Book* containing eighty lessons on events and doctrines as presented

in the Old Testament, giving a connection of events from the Creation down to the close of the Old Testament dispensation, showing God's dealings with his people, and how that the types and shadows of the Old were fulfilled in the New." The English series of four *Question Books* was now complete.

True to their name, *Question Books,* they were arranged in question-and-answer form like the catechism. The Sunday schools using the books developed an order of exercises all their own. The pupils were expected to commit to memory the answers and also a part of the Scripture portion on which they were based. Fortunately Funk leaves a detailed description of the order of procedure in the Lancaster County Mennonite Sunday schools. The session "opened with singing one or more hymns and prayers . . . . When the lesson is taken up by the school, each class reads under the care of their teachers from the Bible or Testament . . . the portion of Scripture indicated in the lesson in their *Question Book.* After the lesson is read the teacher hears the class answer the questions contained in the *Question Book,* and also recite the Scripture Text, and may give them such other instructions and admonitions as may suggest themselves.

. . . "in the schools in Lancaster [county], the Superintendent asks the classes which use the *Primary Book,* all the questions given in the lesson of that book, giving the first question to this class, the second to another, and so on. When the question is put to a certain class, the class rise to their feet and give the answer in concert. He pursues the same course with the classes using the other books, after which the school is closed with singing one or more hymns . . . ."

The books were so successful that demand arose for a German translation. In May, 1881, therefore, the *Herald* announced that the *Question Books* were being translated into the German language and promised that "in the course of a few weeks," German Sunday schools could secure the books. Then the June issue makes the same promise editorially. The German Primary and Intermediate books were ready for distribution in July. Funk states at that time, however, that although "the *Bible Class Question Book* will not be ready in time for use this season," he will "try to have it out in time for the schools next spring." In 1928 Funk stated that he thought Martin D. Wenger, editor of the *Jugendfreund,* translated

the booklets into German. After the spring of 1882 the Mennonite Publishing Company was able to offer the complete set of books in both languages. Insignificant as this fact may appear after a lapse of fifty years, their publication was an event of tremendous importance. It is true that they did not appear soon enough. In many congregations the young people had already been attracted to other denominations where Sunday schools provided for the spiritual and social needs of young men and women and where evangelistic services gathered them into the church. The fate of the Mennonite churches whose young people had gone was a melancholy one. The old people were laid one by one in the cemetery where their fathers were gathered together in their last sleep but where their descendants would never repose. When the last survivors of the old church were buried or had gone to spend their last few days with relatives in another community, nothing remained but the meeting house until it too was gone and the plot of ground on which it stood reverted to the heirs or successors of the original donors.

That the above was not the fate of still more of the Mennonite churches in the East is at least partly due to the *Question Books*. After the active workers of the church could meet the cry of strange doctrine and false teaching with a series of helps compiled and published by the denominational publishing house with the sanction of prominent Lancaster county bishops, opposition to the Sunday school movement in the Mennonite church received its death blow. It is true, to be sure, that even after 1882 some Mennonite congregations in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Canada and other sections combined to oppose the Sunday school. It is also true that at least three Ohio churches died out after this time through failure to enlist the young people in the work of the church. In these communities a few people still remain who can point out the spot where the old Menees (corruption of Menist or Meneesht, old German form of Mennonite) church used to stand. It should be stated here that in some of the communities the Sunday school failed of organization not so much through active opposition as through lack of talent to carry it on properly. But the result was the same in either case—rapid decline and early death of the congregation.

During the decade after the *Question Books* first came into favor they continued in use among those churches where the catechetical tradition, the emphasis on committing answers to questions, was

still in vogue, but in many sections, especially among the more progressive Amish Mennonite congregations, the newer type of instruction was employed. In some of these Sunday schools even so early as 1876 the Berean Lesson Leaflets had been introduced. These schools never adopted the *Question Books*. J. F. Funk knew that the more progressive Sunday schools would not do so and that these books were a temporary expedient. The decade from 1880 to 1890 saw an increasingly large number of the Mennonite and especially of the Amish Mennonite Sunday schools in the West and Middle West turn to some form of lesson help. The Wayne county Amish Mennonites used a help printed at Cleveland, and some western schools the publications of the David C. Cook Publishing Company. An insistent demand arose from many sections for a Mennonite lesson help based on the International Lesson Series. The two earlier disastrous attempts, however, made the publishing house at Elkhart extremely cautious. It was evident that, unless a church-wide demand arose, the house would not venture.

Such a demand finally arose in the late 80's. It was fostered, emphasized and crystallized by J. S. Coffman and M. S. Steiner. Although actively interested in the possible printing of Lesson Helps based on the International Lessons, Bishop Funk had learned by this time, to keep in the background. Suddenly in 1889 the time ripened and in 1890 a "Lesson monthly" edited by J. S. Coffman was published by the Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart. The history of the "Lesson Monthly," superseded later by the "Lesson Quarterly," is itself an interesting and still unwritten chapter in the record of Mennonite Sunday School Literature.

THE THEOLOGY OF CONRAD GREBEL, II

HAROLD S. BENDER

D. THE IDEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF GREBEL'S THEOLOGY

The problem of the source of Grebel's theological ideas is rather difficult to solve, because of the meagreness of the available material. It is perhaps the most difficult problem in connection with his biography, and it will be evident from the ensuing discussion that some work on this problem still remains to be done. On the other hand it is possible that the problem never will be satisfactorily solved, and that all that can be done is to offer some general suggestions which may have only a presumptive and not a final validity. In pursuing the solution two types of sources will need to be investigated, (1) personal sources, and (2) literary sources.

1. *Personal Sources*

In view of the rather thorough discussion of the personal influences brought to bear upon Grebel during his humanistic period and the period immediately following his return from Paris [M. Q. Review, Vol. X, Nos. 1, 2, 3, Jan., April, July, 1936], it will be sufficient to summarize here what has previously been reported and relate it to the problem under discussion.

For the humanist period from 1514-1522 it will be evident that no contribution was made to Grebel's theological thinking by his friends and teachers of that time, such as Vadian, Glarean, and Beraldus. Our previous conclusions also rejected the idea of any personal influence from the more religiously-minded humanists of the type of Erasmus and Faber Stapulensis.

In the period of Grebel's Zwinglianism, 1522-1523, the powerful influence of Zwingli himself upon the young Grebel's theological development is beyond question. It is doubtful whether others, such as Grossman, who had been a chaplain in Zurich since 1518, or Leo Jud, who came to Zurich as a pastor on February 2, 1523, exerted any significant influence. If they did it was all in the direction of Zwingli's own thinking.

In the third, or Anabaptist period of Grebel's life, 1524-1526, Grebel stood too far above his brethren and co-workers that they

should have made any substantial contribution to his thought. The reverse more likely would have been the case. Simon Stumpf and Wilhelm Reublin may have given some slight stimulus, possibly on the question of infant baptism, but there were there no others who could have made any appreciable contribution. Dr. Gerhard Westerburg was in Zurich only a week in October, 1524, and Andreas Carlstadt but for a few days about the same time. Moreover they came after the fundamental lines of Grebel's thought had been set. If they influenced him, particularly Carlstadt, it must have been through literary channels, and earlier. The most that could be surmised would be some influence in the conception of the Lord's Supper which was an issue at the time of Carlstadt's visit to Zurich, but in which Grebel and Zwingli agreed.

It must be concluded then that through personal contact Zwingli and Zwingli alone exerted a decisive influence on Grebel's thinking. The personal relations between Zwingli and Grebel did not begin until Grebel's return from Paris in July, 1520, but from that time until October, 1523, they were most intimate and constant. Grebel not only fellowshipped with Zwingli in the circle of scholars and friends in Zurich who met with Zwingli to study Greek and Hebrew, and without doubt to discuss issues of the day, but he must have had frequent contacts with Zwingli in personal and intimate discussions as man to man. But above all, Grebel heard Zwingli's preaching regularly for more than three years during the time when Zwingli was developing and expounding his new doctrine and when Grebel was just awakening to the gospel. Without doubt, as was shown earlier, Zwingli was responsible for Grebel's conversion, and was his spiritual mentor and guide in the formative period of his thinking. Nevertheless it is impossible to specify in detail the contributions which this personal contact made to Grebel's thinking, for the evidence is wanting.

2. *Literary Sources*

The problem of literary influence upon Grebel's thinking is considerably more difficult than that of personal influence. The extent of Grebel's writing is so slight, and the themes are so limited, that reliance must be placed chiefly upon the scattered references to the reading which he had done, or to books which had come into his possession. In view of the similarity between some of the ideas

which Tertullian held and certain aspects of Grebel's theology, it is tempting to suggest an influence from that great church father, particularly since Grebel procured and forwarded a copy of an edition of Tertullian to Vadian in January, 1522.[36] Unfortunately Grebel does not say whether he read Tertullian or not. It is possible that Grebel was influenced by the Erasmus edition of Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes ad Novum Testamentum,* published in Basel in 1518, for he still had a copy of the book in his library in May, 1525.[37] But whatever influence might have come upon Grebel from the book would scarcely have been in the direction of evangelical or Anabaptist thinking.

We are limited then to publications of the reformers and contemporary religious writers. Let us see what is to be found. In the autumn of 1522 Grebel sent to Vadian a copy of Luther's attack upon the King of England.[38] In November of that year he was awaiting the appearance of Melanchthon's *Scholia on the New Testament,* but he fails to state later whether he actually secured and read a copy.[39] In September, 1523 he sent a copy of Melanchthon's *Annotations on John* to Vadian.[40] He followed with interest the inconsequential controversy between Hutten and Erasmus which took place in the summer of 1523, reporting that he knew of the appearance of Hutten's *Expostulatio,* and of Erasmus' *Spongia.*[41] About the same time he was reading Luther's *Urtayl* about Erasmus.[42] He sent Vadian a copy of Oekolampad's *De non habendo pauperum delectu* which appeared in Basel in July, 1523.[43] All of this shows that Grebel followed with interest the new books and pamphlets that appeared on the book market, but it shows little else. The books which he mentions are for the most part minor

36. It was probably the edition of Beatus Rhenanus, *Opera Tertulliani,* Basel, July, 1521. See *Beatus Rhenanus Briefwechsel,* p. 288. It is interesting to note that Menno Simons read Tertullian. Cf. Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons,* Karlsruhe, 1936, p. 42.

37. Grebel to Castelberger, May, 1525, *MQR* II, July, 1927, p. 43; *Annotationes Erasmi in Novum Testamentum.* A second edition was published.

38. Grebel to Vadian, November 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 451.

39. Grebel to Vadian, November 21, 1522, *op. cit.,* 452.

40. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 7, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* II, 445.

41. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 26: "Affertur Hutteni item invectiva in Erasmus." Hutten's pamphlet *Cum Erasmo Roterodamo . . . Expostulatio,* appeared in Augsburg, July, 1523. (*Böcking, Opp. Hutteni*). Grebel to Vadian Sept. 6, 1523, *op. cit.* p. 446. Erasmus' booklet appeared in September, 1523 in Basel with the title *Spongia Erasmia adv. aspergines Hutteni.*

42. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 26. The title of the booklet was *Urtayl Doctor Martin Luters und Philippi Melanchthonis von Erasmo Roterdami.*

43. Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 6, 1523, *op. cit.* II, p. 445.

publications of slight importance. They are not the great books of the time. And even the ones mentioned are referred to without comment.[44]

In addition to the writings mentioned above, three more significant titles appear among the books which Grebel read in the summer of 1523, all of which found his explicit approbation. The first one was Zwingli's important writing, *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden,* which he sent to Vadian in the month of July with the approving comment, "liber perchristianum,"[45] "a most Christian book." Then there was "the most evangelical articles" of Jacob Strauss, a small pamphlet which appeared in 1523 under the title, *Haubtstueck und artickel Christenlicher Leer wider den unchristlichen Wucher,* in which Strauss "painted wealth in its true colors," as Grebel said.[46] About the same time he read *Balaams Eselin,* a slight booklet by Mathis Wurm von Geydertheim, and found it a book "of similar character," that is, a book which pleased him.[47] Strauss evidently made quite an impression on Grebel, for in his letter of September 5, 1523 to Müntzer, about a year later, he praised Strauss and reckoned him among the preachers of the true gospel. Perhaps he read other books by Strauss, such as *Von dem innerlichen und aeusserlichen Tauff* (1523), and *Das Wucher Zu nemen und geben unserm christlichen glauben und bruderliche lieb entgegen ist* (1524), but if he did so, he failed to mention them. The attacks by Strauss against tithes and usury without doubt strengthened Grebel in his attitude on this question, and very likely occasioned his admiration for Strauss. However, Grebel had established his conviction against tithes under the influence of Zwingli

44. In his letter of Oct. 14, 1524, to Vadian, Grebel mentions Westerburg's booklet, *De Sopore Animarum,* (*Vad. BrS.* III, 89). It is probably the Latin edition of the pamphlet published in 1523, *Vom Fegfeuer und Stand verscheiden Seelen.* According to Steitz (*Dr. Gerhard Westerburg,* in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst, N. F. Bd.* V, *Frankfort* a.M.,1872), who discusses the booklet in detail (pp. 14-21) it was a piece of propaganda for the ideas of Karlstadt. It was probably of no significance for Grebel's theological development. The same is true of the booklets which Grebel mentions in his letter of Jan. 14, 1525 to Vadian (*Vad. BrS.* III, p. 105): "Ess sind nüchli vorhanden: einss wider den zinss und zehenden, ein Archeteles, einss wider den nüwen abgott dass schonen, ein waghals; einss von der widergeburt, eins von gwalt, krieg einss, einss wider den kindertouff (trisarcheteles), einss von der hurerery". I was unable to identify the booklets; the following possibilities might be noted: 1.) Caspar Hedio, *Von den Zehnten,* Strassgurg 1524: 2.) Andreas Karlstadt, *Ob man gmach faren und des ergernüssen der schwachen verschonen soll,* Basel, 1524; 3.) Clemens Ziegler, *Von der waren nyessung beyd leibs und bluts Christi . . . und von dem Tauff wie man den sonder allen zusatz öl, saltz oder beschwerung handeln soll,* 1524.

45. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *op. cit.* p. 26.

46. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *op. cit.* p. 26, Cf. also Chapter X, p. 49.

47. *Ibid.* The full title of the booklet is given later in the text.

before he came into contact with the writings of Strauss, so that it is certainly too much to attribute the origin of his attitude to Strauss. Nevertheless it would be worth while to study more closely the thinking of Strauss and compare it with that of the early Anabaptists; points of similarity and contact may become evident which are not demonstrable at the present time, although it is more than doubtful whether any original influence of Strauss upon Grebel will be proven. Hermann Barge's forthcoming biography of Jacob Strauss ought to contribute to such a study. "Balaam's Ass" by Wurm, deals with an altogether different theme and one that could have had but slight significance for Grebel's thinking. The theme is indicated by the sub-title (translated): *Concerning the ban, that it dare not be imposed in the payment of money debts and similar slight matters. And that the clergy are responsible to obey the worldly authorities if they desire to be Christians.*

Of the three men whose writings appear to have won Grebel's approval, at least so far as the evidence goes, it is clear that only Zwingli exerted a significant influence. Wurm contributed nothing at all, and Strauss at the most strengthened Grebel's views on the question of tithes and usury. There can be no doubt, however, that Zwingli's writings, together with his personal contacts, exerted a deep and fundamental influence on Grebel. Certainly, in addition to the *Schlussreden* of 1523 which he mentions specifically, Grebel must have read all that Zwingli wrote in those all-important years from 1520-1523, and these writings must have furnished him timbers for his theological house. Grebel's enthusiastic endorsement of the *Apologeticus Archeteles* has already been mentioned. It may safely be concluded that *Archeteles* and *Schlussreden* made the chief contribution to his thinking. From the former he won his deep conviction concerning the sole authority of Scripture in matters of faith, naturally in combination with other influences from Zwingli, and from the latter he secured more general conceptions as to the character and methods of the much-needed reform of the church. The direct influence of these books should not be overstressed, to be sure, since they represent only the literary precipitate of Zwingli's general thinking in this period, with which Grebel was certainly well-acquainted. There is no direct evidence of connection between these books and Grebel's writings in the form of borrowed phrases or quotations.

In the case of the doctrine of baptism more specific information is available regarding the source of influence. Grebel says expressly that "Zwingli brought him into the matter."[47a] There is no indication that Grebel read any books on the question of baptism during the years 1522-1524 nor that he was personally influenced by anyone other than Zwingli. By the time he came into contact with Carlstadt and Müntzer his convictions on infant baptism were already set. Even so, these men were not outspoken opponents of infant baptism. It is true that there was widespread doubt among the evangelical preachers of Southwest Germany about this time on the question of infant baptism, and that some reformers, such as those as Strasburg, were no longer insisting upon it,[48] but Zwingli was just as uncertain as many of the others. The hypothesis of outside influence is therefore unnecessary to account for the rise of the new teaching in Zurich, particularly without other supporting evidence.

In the letter to Müntzer of September, 1524, Grebel mentions four preachers from whom he expected much for the future of the gospel. They are Thomas Müntzer, Andreas Carlstadt, Jacob Strauss, and Michael Stiefel. Does this statement mean that Grebel acknowledged indebtedness to these men in the development to his thinking? By no means. What he wanted to say was that so far as he knew these men (he was somewhat incautious), they agreed with his teaching and his conception of the gospel. He could not have known these men very well. He was certainly in error about Stiefel, for Stiefel was at that time a Lutheran, and remained a true friend and supporter, indeed a worshipper, of Luther to the end of his life.[49] Stiefel was an evangelical preacher, first in the service of Hartmut von Kronberg (September 1522 to May 1523), and then in the service of Graf von Mansfeld. Perhaps Grebel had heard or learned of Stiefel's studies in Daniel and the Revelation of John, possibly through a pamphlet by him which is no longer extant. Stiefel was deeply involved in apocalyptic studies in 1524,

47a. Egli, Akts., No. 797, p. 378, July 9, 1525.

48. "Am 23. Nov. 1524 hatten die Strassburger Geistlichen an Luther geschrieben und sich dabei auch über ihre Stellung zur Kindertaufe und der Taufliturgie ausgesprochen. Sie hielten, so führen sie hier aus, an der Praxis der Kindertaufe fest, obgleich sie wüssten, dass dieselbe weder dem Brauch wer ältesten Christenheit noch dem Taufbefehl der H. Schrift genau entspreche: scripturo doctos Christum iubet baptizari." Kawerau, *Liturgische Studien zu Luther's Taufbüchlein, op. cit.*, p. 636.

49. See the article on Stiefel in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

and it is not impossible that the slight eschatological tinge which manifested itself in two letters of Grebel about that time is due to Stiefel's influence. At any rate the first evidence of this tinge appears in a letter to Vadian dated September 3, 1524, just at the time when Grebel was praising Stiefel in the letter to Müntzer. In this letter he gave a short quotation from Daniel 9:27. Somewhat later the eschatological tone reappeared in a letter to Castelberger of May, 1525, in which Grebel prophesied that Zwingli would also go into captivity, according to the book of Revelation. He apparently had reference to Revelation 13:10. Myconius reports in his *Vita Zwinglii,* that the Anabaptists in Zurich delighted in applying the worst prophecies of Daniel to Zwingli,[50] and Zwingli himself states that certain Anabaptists had referred to him as "that old dragon" (Rev. 12:3). Another slight touch of this sort is found in an assertion by Zwingli that in the Zurich disputation of November, 1525 Grebel spoke "just as if the Messiah were already at hand." Just what Grebel may have meant by such a manner of speaking is not clear, nor can we be sure of what Zwingli really meant by his assertion.

It is very difficult to come to any clear picture of the relation between Carlstadt and Grebel. How Grebel learned of Carlstadt, whether through his writings or through other connections, can no more be determined. Perhaps he had read the earlier booklet by Carlstadt which appeared in Wittenberg in January, 1522, under the title *Von Abtuhung der Bilder und das keyn bedtler unther den Christen seyn soll,* but this is pure supposition. The little booklet of 1523 entitled *Ein Sermon vom Stand der Christgleubigen seelen von Abrahams Schoss und fegfeuer der abgeschydnen Seelen* scarcely deserves consideration. Carlstadt wrote nothing else before his seven tracts on the Lord's Supper which were printed in Basel at the end of October, 1524.[51] These seven tracts were read by Grebel in manuscript shortly before their publication.[52] The brethren in Zurich, particularly Manz, were quite zealous in distributing

50. Pointed out by Blanke, *Elenchus,* p. 43, note 4. At this place in the *Elenchus* Zwingli reports that certain Anabaptists had called him "the dragon" (cf. Revelation 12, 3f.): "De antiquo dracone, quem me volebant, deque eius capitibus, quibus reliquos verbi symmystas, omnia implebant".

51. The two writings are listed in the *Verzeichniss der gedruckten Schriften des Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (*Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen* XXI, 1904) as numbers 87 and 95.

52. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 14, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 88.

the pamphlets after they were printed, but the teaching which they contained was only slightly different from that which Zwingli and the brethren already held, for in the matter of the Lord's Supper all three stood on much the same platform, and both Zwingli and Grebel give evidence of having held their views before Carlstadt came to Zurich. Grebel, for instance, in his letter to Müntzer of September 5, 1524, manifests a well developed view of the Lord's Supper, which he no doubt derived from Zwingli. It is true that Grebel read one tract by Carlstadt on infant baptism, which was not published, but he fails to report anything about its content. In any case Grebel's position on this question was already fixed before he saw Carlstadt's pamphlet, as is evident in his letter to Müntzer. It is fair to conclude, then, since Carlstadt did not stay in Zurich and had no further contact of any sort with the Anabaptists, that after all he and Grebel did not have much in common. Although an exhaustive study of this point is not possible here, there can be little doubt that Carlstadt's influence on Grebel was slight.

Finally a concluding word must be said on the relation between Grebel and Müntzer. [The general problem is thoroughly discussed in Chapter X of my forthcoming biography of Grebel but a few pointed observations may serve here to settle the question of literary influence of Müntzer]. It has been shown that the brethren learned of Müntzer after they had come to their own position in regard to the church and reform in Zurich and that they were glad to find in Müntzer one who supported their program. This means in essence that Grebel's theology was fixed in its main lines before Müntzer entered the picture. Grebel's letter to Müntzer is abundant evidence that Grebel was not a disciple of Müntzer but rather a critic. On the other hand a careful examination of the two pamphlets of Müntzer which pleased Grebel and the Zurich brethren so well, and a comparison of Grebel's letter to Müntzer with them, should reveal evidence of the influence of Müntzer's pamphlets, (the reading of which gave the occasion for the correspondence), if any such influence exists. Although such an examination reveals very little in the way of echoes of Müntzer's ideas or phrases, two items deserve mention in this respect. The phrase, "false hypocritical faith" ("falscher, glichsender glauben"), which appears several times in various forms in Grebel's letter, may be an echo of similar expressions in Müntzer's *Protestation.* Again the phrase "a sweet

Christ" (*"Süsser Christus"*), which Grebel uses once in connection with an expression indicating his disparagement of the "learned shepherds" (which by the way is also one of Müntzer's phrases), is directly taken over from Müntzer's booklet *Vom getichten Glauben.* However Grebel states clearly that he had taken this expression from Müntzer. There is no evidence in the letter that the idea of a "bitter Christ" as over against a "sweet Christ," had become a vital part of Grebel's thinking at all. One has a distinct impression after a careful study of Grebel's letter, that the few phraseological echoes of Müntzer which come from Grebel's pen were the direct result of the strong impression which Müntzer's style and spirit made upon the Brethren and that they constitute merely an immediate and superficial reflection, rather than indicating a deep and permanent contribution to thinking. In other words, the reaction is imitative and not assimilative. In view of his sharp criticism of Müntzer's fundamental teachings and attitudes, it is probably correct to say that there was no direct influence of Müntzer's thought upon the content of Grebel's thinking, but that the influence lay rather in the direction of a strengthening of spirit among the struggling little group in Zurich of which Grebel was the leader.

One more interesting and important question awaiting an answer is the question of the origin of the nonresistance of the Zurich Brethren which is expressed so definitely in the letter to Müntzer. This idea, namely the absolute refusal to participate in the use of violence and killing, including warfare, in any way at all, which has been so characteristic of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites throughout their history, is among the earliest of the convictions which possessed Conrad Grebel and his associates in Zurich. It appeared as early as 1522 in the teaching that Andreas Castelberger gave in his "Bible school." The "investigation as to what Andreas uf den Krucken had preached,"[53] produced a highly interesting report by Lorenz Hochrütiner in which among other things Castelberger's teaching against war is reported. Hochrütiner says: "Andreas said much about war; how the divine teaching is so strong against it and how it is sin; and he expressed the idea that the soldier who had plenty at home in his fatherly inheritance and goods and yet went to war, and received money and pay to kill innocent

53. Egli, *Akts,* Jan. 20, 1523, No. 623 p. 276f. Egli later corrected the date of the document from 1525 to 1523, 1525 being the former date in his *Aktensammlung.*

persons and to take their possessions from folks who had never done him any harm, such a soldier was before Almighty God, and according to the content of gospel teaching, a murderer and not better than one who would murder and steal on account of his poverty, regardless of the fact that this might not be so according to human laws, and might not be counted so bad."[53] Castelberger has two reasons for his opposition against war: (1) The divine teaching is strongly against it, and (2) it is sin. Felix Mantz likewise testified before the court in 1525 to his belief "that no Christian could be a magistrate nor could he use the sword to punish or kill anyone, for he had no Scripture for such a thing." There is little reason to doubt that the convictions on the question of war and killing which Grebel and the Zurich brethren held in 1524 when they wrote to Müntzer were of the same character. Their pacifism, if it may be called such, was Biblical in character,—it was derived from the Scripture and from the gospel teaching.

Nevertheless it is possible that the stimulus to thinking along this line, as well as some of the content of some of the thinking, may have been derived from external sources. If this was the case it must have come from the humanist circles of which Grebel was a member in his earlier years. We need not go far afield to find such influences. In Zurich itself, in the circle of Grebel's intimate friends, there was considerable interest in the question of war and peace. As early as 1520 his good friend Myconius wrote a tract against war entitled *Philirenus,* which he circulated among his friends for criticism. On August 30, 1520, Grebel had a copy in his possession. He read it with great interest and found it so true, that he expressed the conviction that it deserved to be printed and thus to be made permanent.[54] Other friends however were influential in persuading Myconius to withhold the pamphlet from publication. It is well known that in the years 1520-1522 and even later, the pacifist viewpoint was present in the Zwingli circle in Zurich. Zwingli had probably taken it over from the great humanist Erasmus, who was an

54. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 3, 1520, *Vad. BrS.* II, p. 299: "Legi, dum nihil aliud agere scirem, Myconii de non bellando dialogum Philirenum, vel ob veritatem perpetuitate dignum." See the discussion of the *Philirenus* in *Zwingli Werke* VII, pp. 232-3, note 2. According to the note, Zwingli was the leader of the friends of peace in Switzerland. But as early as 1524 he had given up his peace principles, for at that time he had preached a stirring war sermon. Cf. Grebel to Vadian, Jan. 14, 1525, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 105: "et populus applausit manibus". Grebel names "soldiering" ("Kriegen") as one of the sins of the Zurich pastors, placing it together with "schonen, toufen, und herren nachtmal", Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 15, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 96.

outspoken pacifist, and who led a vigorous campaign against war in his day. However the pacifist convictions of Zwingli and his friends must not have been very deep, at least not deep enough to leave any permanent influence upon their thinking, for it was not long until Zwingli was actively engaged in planning a great military alliance to fight the pope, and as is well known he died at the head of the army of Zurich on the battlefield of Cappel in 1531. If, then, Grebel maintained his pacifism while Zwingli lost his, there must have been some fundamental difference in the thinking of the two men on the question. This difference can probably be discovered by a comparison of the pacifism of Erasmus with the nonresistance of Conrad Grebel.

The opposition of Erasmus to war was derived from a number of diverse philosophical, sociological, moral, and religious arguments, many of which are valid and useful in building up a conviction against war.[55] But even though there is a religious tone and coloring in Erasmus' thinking on the question of war and peace, nevertheless the Erasmian pacifism was primarily humanitarian in character and not theological and biblical. The one argument which Grebel used in his letter to Müntzer against participation in war, the argument of "the suffering church," is not only not found with Erasmus, but is at the opposite pole from his thinking. A still further and significant difference between Erasmus and Grebel lies in the fact that Grebel was an absolutist on the question of war and violence, and consistently rejected *all* killing, including therefore wars in self-defence, whereas Erasmus, although he at times used very sharp words against war, was ready not only to permit a defensive war, but even any just war. Doctor Ines Thürlemann, who has made a thorough study of Erasmus as a pacifist, has shown in her doctoral dissertation that this was a characteristic feature of the thinking of Erasmus on war. She quotes him at one place as saying: "Citizens may be permitted to fight, but it must be a just war. Whether the war is just or not and in what manner and against whom it is to be fought, that must be left to the decision of the ruler."[56] Between the opportunism of an Erasmus who would be willing to let a ruler decide whether a war was just or not, and the absolutism of a Grebel who would dare to say that "among true believing Chris-

55. *Ines Thürlemann, Erasmus von Rotterdam und Joannes Ludovicus Vives als Pazifisten, Freiburger Dissertation (Schweiz)*, p. 20ff.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

tians killing is done away with altogether," there is a world of difference. It is unthinkable that Grebel derived his deep conviction on this point from his humanist background. It is quite possible that the humanist Conrad Grebel of 1520 to 1522 was an Erasmian pacifist, and that this opened the door of his thinking to the teaching of the New Testament, particularly the Sermon on the Mount, and to the logical deduction from the fundamental concept of the "suffering church" that Christians should suffer and not fight, but the Grebel of 1524 was no longer a humanitarian pacifist, but a believer in the principle of biblical nonresistance, which is something quite different. It is even doubtful that the chief source of Grebel's conviction was the direct teaching of the Sermon on the Mount on loving one's enemy. I am inclined to hold that Grebel derived his conviction primarily from the central thought of "the suffering church." As stated at another place, in all the extant writings of Grebel, including his letters, there is not one quotation from the Sermon on the Mount, and there is no evidence that this portion of the teaching of Christ exerted an outstanding influence of his ethical and religious thinking more than any other portion of the New Testament.

One word more remains to be said about the source of Grebel's theology, and this is a very important word. Much time has been spent in examining possible sources of personal and literary influence upon Grebel, and little said about the possibility that after all the chief influence upon his thinking was the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Zwingli was Grebel's guide, it is true, especially in the early days of his Christian experience, but Zwingli's chief service to Grebel was to point him to the Scripture, to give him the conviction that the Word of God alone was the source of authority in faith and life. Grebel learned the lesson well. He learned it so well in fact that when the time came that he was forced to choose between what Zwingli taught and what Grebel believed the Bible taught he was ready to make the decision to abandon Zwingli and follow the Bible. In the two years between his conversion in 1522 and his break with Zwingli in 1524, Conrad Grebel had learned to read the Scripture and believe it so thoroughly that for him it became the chief source of his thinking. After all, is it not abundantly clear that in the great era of the Reformation when men were forging great new doctrines and systems of doc-

trines, or reviving long lost fundamentals, the little handful of Anabaptist brethren in Zurich under the leadership of Conrad Grebel was blazing a new trail that did not follow the great highways built by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin and their lesser associates. It is difficult to believe that the great dominant ideas which controlled the life and thinking of Conrad Grebel and his brethren, and which were different from the ideas of the reformers, were drawn from any other source than "the clear Word of God" itself, as Grebel so often calls it. The Bible was the chief source of the theology of Conrad Grebel and the Swiss brethren.[56a]

E. *The Teaching of Conrad Grebel*

As had already been stated, a systematic presentation of Grebel's theology is impossible.[57] Nevertheless it will be worth while to give a brief summary of the chief teachings of Grebel as they have become evident in the historical discussion of Chapters X and XI [of my biography of Grebel], as well as in the description of Grebel's writings as given in section B. 3 above. In accord with the methodological principles laid down in section B. 1, only those sources will be used which are included under class "A", namely the letters and writings of Grebel himself, and his own testimony in court. Other material will be used only incidentally. At the outset it is important to recall again Zwingli's own judgment about the Swiss Brethren (including Conrad Grebel as chief), in which he states that the theology of the Brethren did not differ from Zwingli's own theology on any major point of Christian doctrine.[58] This must be interpreted to mean that the great fundamental principles of the Reformation, *sola fide,* justification by faith, and *sola Scriptura,* the sole authority of the Word of God, were equally accepted by them. From this fundamental statement by Zwingli it is clear that Conrad Grebel was thoroughly evangelical in the same sense that Luther

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56a. In using the Scripture Grebel endeavored to be true to the objective Word and avoid subjective modification of Scripture truth. In September, 1524 he was studying the Gospel of Matthew with some pupils, but he emphasizes the fact that he was "interpreting not prophesying." Grebel to Vadian, Sept. 3, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, 85: "pro mea virili interpretans, non prophetans".

57. The best exposition of the teaching of the Swiss Brethren (not systematic) is that by John Horsch in a series of four articles in the *Menn. Quar. Review,* entitled, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren", MQR. IV (1930) 241-266, V (1931) 7-27, 128-147, 245-259. Cf. the lengthy discussion of Horsch from the Zwinglian point of view by Leonhard von Muralt, *Zwingliana* VI, Heft 2 (1934), 65-82, under the title, "Zum Problem: Reformation und Taeufertum".

58. *Zwingli Werke* III, 872.

and Zwingli were. The differences between Zwingli and Grebel lay primarily in the sphere of the doctrine of the church, its organization, nature, ordinances and discipline, and its relation to the state and the social order. In the matter of ordinances, only in baptism was there a cleavage, and even there it was not on the general character and function of ordinances, but rather on the specific meaning of baptism and the requirements for baptism. In the following discussion the teachings of Grebel will be grouped around five main heads, with a concluding characterization.[59]

I. *The Nature of the Church*

The church comes into existence through the preaching of the Word, through the voluntary acceptance of this Word of Truth, and through the consequent conversion and renewal of life of individual believers.[60] By faith the individual members are united and incorporated into the body of Christ.[61] The church therefore has Christ as its head, and the brethren as members.[62] This church is in truth a fellowship of brethren in life and suffering, which is maintained by the outward bond of faith and the inward bond of love.[63] When a member of the body fails to maintain love toward the brethren or does not order his life according to the gospel, he breaks the bond of fellowship.[64] In its earthly and outward form the church regulates its life through ceremonies and forms[65] and

59. The delineation follows Grebel's terminology rather closely. Extensive quotations are given in the footnotes in Grebel's own words. The quotations from the letter to Müntzer are taken from Boehmer-Kirn, *Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel,* and cited as *Epistel,* p.—. Grebel's *Petition of Protest and Defence,* is quoted from Zwingli Werke III and cited as *Protestation,* p.——. The *Taufbuechlein* is quoted from *Zwingli Werke* VI and cited as *Elenchus,* p.——.

60. *Protestation,* p. 370: "So einer bekert durchs wort Gottes sin gemuet geendert" The proposal of the leaders of the Brethren (Grebel, Manz, and Stumpf) at the beginning, that Zwingli should gather by an appeal all those who would be willing to join a free church, is based upon this conception of the church. *Elenchus,* p. 33.

61. *Epistel,* p. 94: " . . . in glouben der lib Christi und ein inlibung mit Christo und den brüderen. . . . "

62. *Epistel,* p. 95: " . . . dass er umb Christi und der brüderen, des houptes und glidern willen, läben und liden will." Grebel an Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 542: "Salvabis plurimum episcopum cum universa ecclesia, quae Christi capitis per evangelium graciae est."

63. See notes 61, 62 above. See also *Epistel,* p. 94: ". . . dass wir warlich ein brott und lib und ware brüder mitteinander werind und sin weltind . . ."; "die liebe, dass inner band."

64. *Epistel,* p. 94: "So einer aber sich funde nit brüderlichen mögen läben . . . schendt die liebe, dass inner band."

65. *Epistel,* p. 96: "Züch mit dem wort und mach ein christenliche gmein mit hilf Christi und siner regel", p. 101: ". . . wellist allein götliches claress wort und brüch mitsamp der regel Christ, unvermischtem touff und unvermischtem nachtmal uffrichten

through the two ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper,[66] but always in conformity with the instructions of the Word of God. The church as a whole must maintain scriptural discipline through its ministers and in accord with the rule of Christ, Matthew XVIII, which means that such brethren who give offense by their sinful conduct and who will not hear the church must be excluded from fellowship by the ban.[67] New members will be received into the church upon the basis of a confession of faith and a separation from sin, upon evidence of leading a new and holy life.[68] The church is served by ministers who are supported by voluntary contributions of the membership.[69] Brethren must be ready to give of their money and goods to aid those who are in need, to the extent of acknowledging the claim of the church upon their possessions,[70] although community of goods is rejected.

2. *The Relation of the Church to the State and to Society*

There is no relation between the constitution and practices of the church, such as the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper,

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und leren"; p. 93: "Wellist dich ernstlich flisen, allein göttliche brüch uffrichten und schirmen, allein gutt und recht schetzen, dass in heiterer clarer gschrift erfunden mag werden." Grebel said to Pastor Hans Brennwald of Hinwil (Egli, *Akts.* Aug. 9, 1525, No. 797, p. 379): "du sollt weder mine Herren, noch niemant ansechen und sollt allein tuon, was dich Gott geheissen hat; und was der mund Gottes geredt, demselbigen sollt nachgan." *Epistel,* p. 97: "Es ist wissheit und rates me dann gnug in der gschrift, wie man all stend, alle menschen, leren, regieren, wisen und fromm machen sol."

66. *Protestation,* p. 369: ". . . sidmal nicht ein kleins ist, wiewol es anders fürgeben wird, die zwo einigen Zeremonien von Christo uns verlassen anders brouchen, dann sy Christus befolhen hat."

67. See note 65, first quotation. *Epistel,* p. 97: "Welcher sich nit besseren, nit glouben wil und dem wort und hendlen Gottes widerstrebt und also verhart, den sol man, nach dem im Christus und sin wort sine regel geprediget . . . sol man nit tötten, sunder ein heiden und zoller achten und sin lassen." Egli, *Akts.,* No. 692, p. 313: "Der kilchen halb seit er (Grebel) wölcher ein gitler, wuocherer, spiler und anders syge, wie dann die gschrift das uswist, der solle niendert under den Christen sein, sondern mit den bann usgeschlossen werden."

68. Egli, *Akts.* August 2, 1525, No. 792, p. 373. Grebel antwortet auf die Frage von Finsterbach, "was man thun müsste, um sich taufen zu lassen", "einer müsste zuovor von ebrechen, spilen, sufen und von wuocherzins stan." *Protestation,* p. 369: ". . . sondern alein, wie dann der Touff bedeut die, die sich besseren ein new leben an sich nemend, den lasteren absterbend, mitt Christo begraben werden und mitt im in newrung des lebens auss dem touff ufferstand". Almost the same words are found on p. 370.

69. Epistel, p. 96: ". . . und so nit ein gantze gmein üch ertzücht, wellind ir üch der pfründen entzüchen. Ir wüssend wol, wie ein hirt ernert werden sol: Cf. a similar proposal of the brethren to Zwingli, *Zwingli Werke,* IV, p. 405.

70. It is thus that I interpret Zwingli's assertion in the trial of November, 1525, *Zwingli Werke* IV, p. 171: "Item so habind Grebel und Simon mer dann einist mit im geredt und all weg daruff trügen, dass alle ding gmein müsstind sin". In the same trial (Egli, *Akts.,* No. 692, p. 313) Grebel denied having said anything about "having things in common". Manz and Blaurock likewise in the same trial denied having preached

and the life of the state.[71] The two institutions of the church and the state operate on a different level. In spiritual matters, the church alone has the power to act on the basis of the Word of God. In "worldly" matters, that is, in things which do not concern the faith and life of the church, the state has jurisdiction, its authority is recognized by the church, and its commands are to be obeyed.[72] The state is not rejected.[73] The church has no right to seek to rule the world or society from without, nor to control the civil authorities in its interests.[74] Nor has it any claim to the use of force or forceful means of any sort.[75] On the contrary it separates itself from the world.[77] The church is a suffering church which is to expect persecution in this world,[76] and it is not to expect that the mass of men will come into the church. Believers are to separate themselves from the unbelieving mass and to unite in the fellowship of believers.[77] Individual members of the church have the right to seek to elect a "Christian" magistracy or council,[78] in order that the government may be influenced to follow the principles of divine

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communism of goods. Manz claimed to have taught only that a good Christian should share with his neighbor who might be in need. See the discussion on this point in my Grebel biography, Chapter X, note 3, where the example of Anthoni Roggenacher's charity is reported. In another trial (Egli, *Akts.* No. 933) Grebel testified that he had never taught, "dass man jemands nüts umb das sin geben söllte".

71. *Protestation,* p. 371: "Wil euwer weissheit ouch des vermandt haben, burgerliche und stattliche recht auss dem tauff nicht geschweget werden noch gebessert."

72. Egli, *Akts.,* No. 933 pp. 442 ff . . . Egli is incomplete. Quotation after Correll's copy: "Wolle sunst minen herren ghorsam sin inn allen anderen weltlichen dingenn."

73. Grebel expressly denied (Egli, No. 933), that he had ever taught "die oberkeit söllte dannen getan werden," or "dass man der oberkeit nit ghorsam sin söllte." Blaurock and Manz also denied the charge. The proposal of the Brethren to Zwingli, that the new free church should elect a Christian council as soon as they had a majority, certainly contradicts the assertion that the Brethren rejected the magistracy. See *Elenchus,* p. 33.

74. *Epistel,* p. 97. See note 76 below.

75. *Epistel* p. 97: "Man soll ouch das evangelium und sine annemer nit schirmen mit dem schwert oder sy sich selbs . . . Sy gebruchend weder weltlichs schwert nach krieg, wann by inen ist dass töten gar abgetan." Grebel points out four errors of the Zurich pastors in his letter to Vadian, Dec. 15, 1524. (*Vad. BrS.* III, p. 96) with "kriegen" at the head of the list: "vom ietzigen kriegen, schonen, touff und herren nachtmal".

76. *Epistel,* p. 97: "Rechte glaubige Christen sind schaff mitten under den wölffen, schaff der schlachtung, müssend in angst und nott, trübsal, verfolgung, liden und sterben getoufft warden". *Epistel* p 100. "Und ob du darumb liden müsstest, weist wol, dass es nit anderss mag sein. Christus muss noch mer liden in sinen glideren."

77. *Elenchus,* p. 33. Zwingli's report of the program of the Brethren: "Non ergo unquam esse sperandum sic coalituros in unum esse omnium animos, ut Christianis liceat vivere. In Actis enim apostolicis eos, qui credidissent, ab aliis secessionem fecisse ac deinde factum esse, ut, qui crederent, ad eos, qui iam nova ecclesia erant, concederent. Perinde ergo nobis esse faciendum."

78. See note 73 above.

righteousness.[79] Within the church no tithes or usury are to be levied.[80] The state likewise has no right to levy tithes, for the church is not to be supported by taxes or monies collected by force, but by the voluntary contributions of members.[81]

3. *The Scripture*

The Word of God is eternally true[82] and is a dynamic force which converts sinners[83] and destroys opponents.[84] It will "sing its own truth into the heart."[85] If it is not obeyed, or if it is mixed with human opinions in the church, then it is polluted, and the church will not prosper but will perish.[86] The Scripture is inspired of God[87] and is the sole standard for the actions of the church as well as for the life of the individual.[88] What is not taught by plain and clear Scripture or illustrated by the example of Christ or the apostles, is to be reckoned as forbidden, as "anathema."[89] A sim-

79. I conclude this from Grebel's demand for "Göttliches Recht" at the time of his preaching in Hinwil. Cf. Egli, *Akts.*, No. 797, p. 397.

80. Zwingli's testimony, *Zwingli Werke* IV, p. 169, where he reports that Simon Stumpf had proposed: "das sy ein besonnder volck und kilchenn söttind uffrichtenn, und ein christenlich volck darin han, . . . das ouch weder mit zinssen als mit annderem wucher beladenn were." See also Grebel's requirement of Finsterbach, that whoever desired to be baptized "müsste zuovor von wuocherzins stan." Egli, *Akts.*, No. 792. Grebel restricted his demand regarding the abandonment of interest, to refusal to collect interest, not to pay interest, as is evident from his assertion: "er habe nie gelert, das man jemands nüts umb das sin geben söllte." Egli, *Akts.*, No. 692, p. 313.

81. See note 69 above.

82. *Protestation* p. 371: "das ewig war wort Gottes."

83. *Protestation,* p. 370: ". . . so einer bekert durchs wort Gottes."

84. *Protestation,* p. 371: "Weiss aber gewüsslich, so man das einige wort frey, einfaltiklich fürgeby, niemand darwider möge, Gott ouch die redt der Gottlosen zerströwen würde" . . . . "Das es die ewig warheit Gottes ist, die da niemand überwinden mag. Cf. the speech of Grebel to the "Ratsherren auf der Ratsstube" in Zurich, 1522: "und sofer mine Herren nit lassint das Evangelium fürgar, so werdint si zerstört werden" in Egli, No. 269, p. 94. Also the poem, "In gratiam reducis Evangelii", *Zwingli Werke* I, p. 327: "verbum evangelicum arduis triumphis ducit perpetuoque victa ducet."

85. *Protestation,* p. 371: "Das ewig war wort Gottes wird ouch einen jeglichen in seinem Herzen singen, er thue dann darwider oder nit, diss die warheit sein wil."

86. *Epistel,* p. 93: For Grebel this was the real cause for the failure of the Reformation to that time. "In semlichem allem bringt dass faltsch schonen, die verschwigung and vermischung dess götlichen wortes mit dem menschlichen. Ja, sprechend wir, ess bringt allen schaden und macht alle götliche ding hinderstellig, bedarf nit underscheidens und ertzellens."

87. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS,* II, 460: "Si quantum vellem, tantum etiam possem in 'theopneustois tois grammasi' ".

88. See note 65 above, also *Protestation,* p. 369: "Dass man die gechrift sölt lassen reden, wir nichts dartzuo noch darvon söltend thun."

89. *Epistel,* p. 94: "Wass wir nit gelert werdend mit claren sprüchen und bispilen, sol unss alss wol verbotten sin, also stünd es gechriben, dass tu nit." *Elenchus,* p. 55: "Nemo debet aut baptizare aut aliud quid agere, sed propter disertam scripturam aut facta, quemadmodum multu testimonia divinarum literarum comprobant. . . . Paulus docet, anathema esse, quicquid non in evangelio atque sermonibus apostolorum contin-

ple faith is necessary to understand the Scripture aright and to appropriate it; no artificial intellectualism can be of any help, rather it will be a hindrance.[90]

4. *The Experience of Salvation and the Christian Life*

The sinner is converted by the preaching of the Word,[91] that is, he is brought thereby to the point where he will turn from his sins, abandon them completely, and take up a new life.[92] This conversion is a new birth[93] by which, through the faith of the believer and by means of the blood of Christ, sins are washed away, and the believer dies to sin and receives a new spirit. If he continues to live in this new life and resolutely separates himself from sin, he may be sure of salvation.[94] The new life is the fruit of faith. Faith must have this fruit of the new life, however, or it is but a "false, hypocritical faith."[95] Although the believer in his new life fights sin and overcomes it, yet he will feel the power of sin and will humbly confess that he is imperfect and the "best of men are hypocrites" in the sight of the eternal God and His truth and righteousness.[96] The burden of sin within should weigh more heavily upon the heart than outward tribulations.[97] At times members of the church will

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eatur:" Several times in the *Epistel to Müntzer* Grebel uses the expression "gechrift und bispil" or something similar. *Epistel,* p. 96: "So wir kein gschrift noch bispil in den nüwen Testament finden . . . Nach aller gschrift bispil und gebott."

90. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 15, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 96: "Ich gloub dem wort gottes einfaltiklich uss gnad nit uss kunst; kunst halb wüstind irs ouch wol, ja tusend malen bass."

91. See note 60 above.

92. *Protestation,* p. 370: ". . . das gleich wie sy inwendig durch die zukunftt des heiligen geistes gereinigt ouch eusserlich mit wasser begossen wurdend zu bedeutung des innerlichen abweschens und absterbens den sünden."

93. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, pp. 458-9; "Mater mea satis impia in me, in coniugem plus nimio rabida est. Timeo de eius salute, ni Christum induat et nova fiat spiritu divino renata creatura".

94. *Epistel,* p. 97: "Den touff beschribt unss die gschrifft, bedütte, dass er durch den glouben und dass blut Christi (dem getoufften dass gmüt enderendem und dem gloubenden vor und nach) die sünd abgewäsche sin; dass er bedütte, dass man abgstorben sie und sölle der sünd und wandlen in nüwe des läbens und geist, und dass man gwüss selig werd, so man durch den inneren touff den glouben nach der bedütnuss läbe."

95. *Epistel,* p. 92: "Also ouch jetzund wil iederman in glichsendem glauben selig werden, on frücht dess gloubens, on touff der versuchung und probierung, on liebe und hoffnung, on rechte christenliche brüch, und beliben in allem alten wäsen eigner lasteren."

96. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 15, 1524, *Vad. BaS.* III, p. 96: "Got fürdere sin warheit und grechtikeit und gschende alle personen. Sy sind (dass ist wir alle) lugenhaftig; die besten sind glichsnere, amen."

97. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 14, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 89: "peccatorum onus merito non me solum, sed omnes christianos magis gravare debet intus, quam quae foris impetunt procellae afflictionum."

fall into sin.[98] When that happens they have thereby broken the bond of fellowship with God and with the brethren and will be set outside the limits of that fellowship.[99] There are therefore no sinless Christians, and there is no sinless church, but sinlessness must be striven after as a goal, for that is the command of the Scripture. Christians must forgive one another.[100] They must set their trust upon God and not in men,[101] and must learn patience through tribulation.[102] Prayer is the avenue to the power of God.[103] Christians may not use force, not even in self-defense. Warfare is not permitted for the Christian, for among the children of God killing is altogether done away with.[104] And if a man thinks that he can deceive his fellow-men in regard to his life, he should remember that at the end he will stand before God who knows the hearts and administers a just judgment, and whom no man can deceive.[105]

5. *The Meaning and Administration of the Ordinances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper*

The ordinances are symbols and pledges.

Baptism. Baptism is the sign of a change in the inner man, a new birth, a washing away of sin.[106] Since this experience is pro-

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98. Only on the assumption of the possibility of sinning among Christians is the requirement of excommunication from the church, which Grebel expressly demands (see footnote 67 above for proofs) logical.

99. *Epistel,* p. 95: "So einer aber sich funde nit brüderlichen mögen läben . . . schendt die liebe, dass inner band." See also the evidence in note 67.

100. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 20, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* III, 459: "Atque istud in limine esse tempus incipit, quo plerique utinam non ipsa quoque-non fraterne remissis aliorum peccatis corpus Christi indigne et ad iudicium manducamus."

101. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* II, p. 33: "Atque utinam a deo penderem pendeamque."

102. Grebel to Vadian, Oct. 14, 1524, *Vad. BrS.* III, 89: "Si istuc non fit, in patientia doceat me Christus magister noster frenare et possidere animam . . . Sed sic quoque ducetur callus Christi beneficio." Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 33: ". . . sed ubi, per ignem aliquem succendente volenteque ipso, patientia animam meam hans, multis expositam et agitabilem procellis, possidere didicero."

103. Grebel to Vadian, July 28, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 30: "Precare apud Christum, ut firmam in eum fiduciam geram. Idem ego quoque, ut tibi accidat, precabor." Grebel to Castelberger, May, 1525. *MQR* I (July, 1927) p. 42: "Dum redeo, precor Dominum ut significaret quid factu potius esset."

104. See notes 74, 75 above.

105. Grebel to Vadian, May 30, 1525, *Vad. BrS.* III, p. 116: "Patientia et vitae eorum exitus et dies domini magnus probabunt . . . Noli te, quaeso, perdere. Si hic fallis homines, non lates coram domino deo, cognitore cordium et iusto iudice."

106. See notes 68, 92, 94 above for the evidence. Felix Manz held baptism to be a sign of the union of believers, "sin meinung, namlich dass er die, (die) sich Christi welltind annemen und dem wort gehorsam (sin), ouch nach Cristo wandlen, zuosammen wellte suochen und sich mit denselben durch den touf vereinbaren und die anderen irs gloubens lassen pliben." Egli, *Akts.,* No. 692, p. 312.

duced only by the Word, only those who have come to reason and have believed through the Word can be baptized.[107] Children, who do not know the difference between good and evil and who cannot have faith, are not to be baptized, for they are saved by the suffering of Christ without faith and its sign, baptism.[108] Infant baptism was not practiced by Christ and the apostles, for Christ commanded that which the apostles followed, namely that only such should be baptised who have first been instructed in the Word of God.[109] Later in the history of the Church infant baptism was invented by the pope and was continued as an unscriptural and unchristian Roman custom.[110]

The Lord's Supper. The Lord's Supper is a symbol of the fellowship of the brethren among one another and with Christ. It points to the basis for that fellowship, "which is the testament of the body and blood of Christ on the cross." It is also a pledge of brotherly love[111] and sanctification.[112] For this reason no one may participate in it who does not have a forgiving spirit[113] and who does not live the life of holiness.[114] The church must proceed with

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107. Egli, *Akts.* Aug. 8, 1525, No. 797, p. 389. Grebel said to Pastor Hans Brennwald of Hinwil he "soilte die kinder erst toufen, wann si zuo ir vernunft kämind." *Protestation,* p. 371: "Christum die galerten heissen täuffen, die apostel niemands geteufft haben dann allein die gelerten."

108. *Epistel,* p. 98. "Dass alle kinder die noch nit zu underscheid dess wüssens gutts und böss kummen sind und von dem baum desz wüssens nach nit gessen habend, dass sy gwüss selig werdind durch das liden Christi."

109. See note 107, second quotation.

110. This idea was common among the first Anabaptists. Gabriel Giger, whom Grebel had baptized as early as January, 1525, testified before court: "Der vorder touf (das ist der kindertouf) der sye von dem Bapst ufgesetzt; das habe in darzuo geursacht, dass er sich jetz mit dem göttlichem touf habe lassen toufen." Egli, *Akts.* March, 1525, No. 674, pp. 297-8. Grebel and the brethren apparently found this argument an effective one among the evangelically minded population who desired only to be rid of everything "papistical". Grebel expressed the same idea concerning the origin of infant baptism in his *Protestation,* p. 368: "Die andern (sc. vermeinend) das der kindertouff schlecht, falsch und aus dem endchrist dem bapst und seinen anhengeren erwachsen und erdacht sey (als dan war ist)."

111. *Epistel,* p. 94: "Die wil dass brott nüt anders ist dann brot, im glouben der lib Christi und ein inlibung mit Christo und den Brüderen . . . (p. 94) wann ess ermant in ouch nit an den lib und blut Christi, dess testamentes an dem crütz, dass er umb Christi und der brüderen, dess houptes und glideren willen, läben und liden well."

112. When Grebel conducted the Lord's Supper for the first time among the brethren in Zollikon, ". . . die redtind vom touf und nachtmal. Darnach zerschnitte der Grebel ein brot und teilte es under si; darvon esse er ouch, der gstalt, dass si nun fürhin ein christenlich leben füeren und halten wölltind." It is the testimony of Hans Ockenfuss, Feb. 6, 1525, Egli, *Akts.* No. 636, p. 283.

113. See note 100 above.

114. *Epistel,* p. 94: "So einer aber sich funde nit brüderlichen mögen läben, isst er zu der verdammnuss." ". . . Wann so manss bruchte in der gmein, sollt ess unss antzeigen, dass wir warlich ein brott und lib und ware brüder mitteinander werdind und sin weltind."

discipline according to the rule of Christ, Matthew XVIII, before the Lord's Supper can be observed.[115] The ceremonial accompaniments of the ordinance must be simple, in order that true devotion may not be disturbed and thus attention be called to outward things and thereby a false external faith be generated.[116] The Lord's Supper should be observed frequently though the time is not prescribed, and not in the church-house but in the home, in order that no false devotion may be generated.[117] The worship service in general must be simple in all its details, and liturgical singing should be omitted in order that the spirit of the worshipper may be concentrated in true devotion upon the Word of God.[118]

6. *General Characterization*

It is clear from the above exposition that Conrad Grebel sought after reality in the spiritual life. He sought to generate and maintain the inner spiritual life through a living faith in Christ and union with Him. This spiritual life must be effective in daily experience, in trust in God, in love toward the brethren, in separation from sin, and in a holy life. Alone through "incorporation with Christ and the Brethren" can the individual receive the strength which is necessary to live the Word of God, to conquer sin, and to maintain love. In this strength the believer and the church as a whole will be able to bear victoriously "the baptism of temptation and testing," persecution, suffering, and death and "pass triumphantly through this testing by fire into the homeland of eternal rest."[119]

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115. *Epistel,* p. 95: "Sol nit on die regel Christi Mathei xviii gebrucht werden."

116. *Epistel,* p. 94: "Wann ess bringt ein glichsenden andacht und anbettung dess brotes und ein abtzug von dem innerlichen, . . . (p. 95), wann es bringt ein falschen andacht . . . wan on die selb so loufft jederman nach dem usseren, dass inner die liebe lasst man faren."

117. *Epistel,* p. 95.

118. Grebel advances nine arguments in support of his demand that singing be abolished, *Epistel,* pp. 93-94. See the discussion of this point above.

119. *Epistel,* p. 97.